THE QUAID-E-AZAM PAPERS 1940

Rizwan Ahmad

EAST & WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY

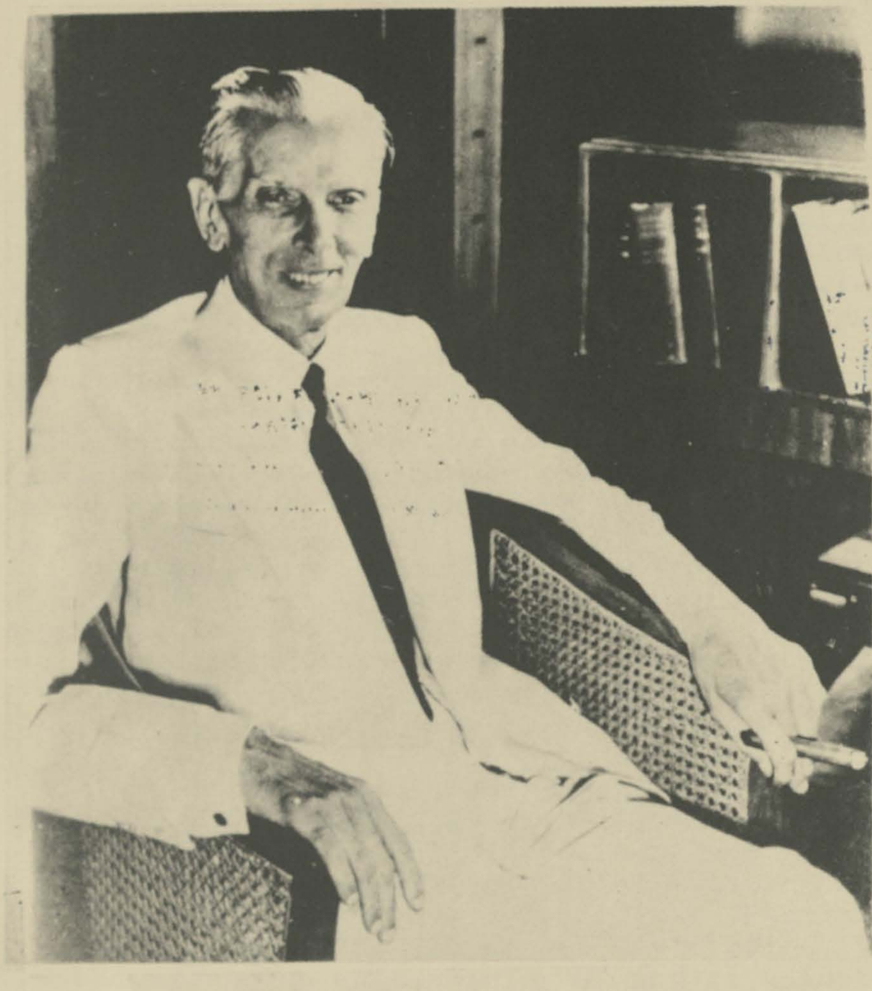
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Compiled by
Rizwan Ahmad

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THE

FATHER OF THE NATION

Foreword

There could be no greater satisfaction to a research student of history to find access to the original sources of informative documentation. The present volume of papers related to Quaid-e-Azam and Muslim struggle for freedom is a treasure that all would like to possess.

The compiler of these papers is himself a research student on the life and achievements of Quaid-e-Azam. His gesture to make public the documents in his possession without first making use of them, is an example of generosity which will be highly appreciated.

This volume is in the nature of an archive, housing the original documents. The fascimile reproductions of these papers, in fact brings the library to the scholar relieving him of the inconvenience of going from pillar to post in anxious hunt for facts. This is the intrinsic value of this volume.

For me the perusal of these papers is a source of revival of cherished memories of the day to day routine for, in 1940, I happened to join Quaid-e-Azam as his private secretary. Most of the letters sent by him in reply to correspondents were typed by me. Even though he did not sign the office copies of his replies, there is no doubt about the authenticity of papers included in this volume.

M.H.SAIYID

Preface

Some time ago, after a few years of search and solicitations I had been able to collect a set of documents relating to Quaid-e-Azam mostly being the correspondence between him and Muslim leaders. I had been contemplating their publication for the benefit of those who intend to make research into our history and also for those who are interested in reading through the pattern of political thought among our leaders. For some reason or another I could not get the opportunity in doing so.

The first volume of these papers is now being presented through the courtesy of East & West Publishing Co. under the title THE QUAID-E-AZAM PAPERS, 1940.

I have no intention here of interpreting these papers in any way because I may or may not agree with some of the correspondents. One thing, however, clicks in my mind. As far as Quaid-e-Azam is concerned, he appears to have a remarkable patience for keeping silent even about the issues of vital importance, at least until he believed that a lack of clarification may cause a confusion.

Quaid-e-Azam was essentially a practical man. As long as he observed that thing were moving in the right direction, he considered that an expression of opinion was not necessary at all. A period of over forty years of selfless public life had established him as an unimpeachable, unpurchasable and incorruptible character, singled out in the environment in which he lived.

His political opponents, on the other hand, were incessantly engaged in manoeuvres and manipulations to set up alliances and cliques to counteract his positive suggestions in the field of various constitutional reforms. For this they adopted the method of an aggressive propaganda based upon the false plea that they stood for freedom and those who disagreed with them, did not. Consequently, the more they became vocal about it, the more they were exposed.

I cannot, therefore, help reach the conclusion that Quaid-e-Azam achieved more by his silence than by drawing support from a preconveived system of publicity.

I do hope that with the co-operation of individuals and institutions we may receive some of the most valuable documents relating to this year or other years, so that the record may be completed.

Gulshan-e-Iqbal,
Karachi.
March 23, 1976.

Rizwan Ahmad

Contents

MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY • UNITED PROVINCES •

8B, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi
2. 1. 40

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. You certainly deserved a rest and a change. I hope you enjoyed your stay at Matheran and feel rested. The Day of Deliverance was indeed a great success. Reports have been pouring into the Central Office which show that the Day was observed throughout the Country. Even

the Indian Musalmans in
Ceylon observed the day.
I have received a letter
from the Nawab of Mamdot
Chairman Reception Committee
suggesting that the Annual
Session should be held during
Easter Holidays and the dates
should be announced as
soon as possible. I think
the Easter is the best time
and as the Working Committee
is not likely to meet till
the end of the month I have
today issued the enclosed letter
to all the Members of the

working Committee and if you approve of these dates viz the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of March then on receiving replies from the Members I shall officially announce the dates. Kindly let me know by telegram if you approve of these dates.

As soon as I receive information from the Majority of the Members of the Working Committee approving of these dates I propose to convene an Emergency meeting of the Members of the Council present

at the head-quarters as laid down in Section 35 of the Constitution to fix these dates for the Session at Lahore so that no one may raise any legal or technical objection.

I notice that you have shifted into your new house. It is a fine mansion. مبارک ہو.

When should we expect you in Delhi? We must have a meeting of the Council some time at the begin of February to elect President for the new year.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are very fit.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf & Miss Zaidi [illegible]

Personal

"Sadar House",

S u r a t,

6th January 1940.

My dear Jinnah,

Unfortunately I am not well today; got temperature last night. I returned from Ankleshwar yesterday evening. I was there the whole day. The motor drive fifty miles each way is responsible for it. Somehow or other, a little strain or an overstrain upsets me nowadays. Well, that does not abate my enthusiasm. But, all the same, health counts a good deal. I have done most part of the city here and raised something nearing Rs.7,000. Rander has very rich Mussalmans, as you know. But these fellows, with all the mass of wealth, seem to be reluctant to give a decent amount. For instance, today one man, by name Ismail Azam, worth lakhs and lakhs, would not give more than a hundred. Anyway, I may be able to extract more than a thousand from Rander, which is a very poor sum, considering the wealth that is there. Ankleshwar came out with about

1500. The small fellows are better, - the 1Re. wallas. There are yet a number of towns in the District which I have to visit. But, they are agricultural centres and I am informed, both about these and Broach District, that I would be able to collect something from them when their crop is ready. That could be done in February. I am, therefore, leaving them over for the present. I cannot understand the Muslim mentality that whenever a public meeting is called the gathering is tremendous. I addressed three meetings in Surat, where there were more than 4000 people, and one yesterday at Ankleshwar after the Juma Namaz. There were about 500 people there. They receive all that I can lay before them, both about the progress of the League and the propaganda for the press, most enthusiastically. They show that they are Muslims to the core. But, when it comes to becoming members formally and technically and contributing for the fund, they evaporate. Well, efforts must be made and something will be collected.

To my great surprise, I addressed a circular

letter to all the M.L.A's of the Province as to when I should ~~to over to~~ visit each centre and they would be able to organise meetings for me. No reply, except from two or three; - Jan Mahomed from Poona, Amir Saheb Rais from Manor for the Thana Dt., and Gheewala from Belgaum. The rest of them have not bothered even to acknowledge my letter. I have, therefore, sent them a reminder. Ispahani has sent me a confidential report of the state of things of the District Leagues in each District. It is a very helpful document and I shall see how to mend matters when I go round. But, the prospect appears to be gloomy. Anyway, a public man with a mission, cannot afford to be pessimistic and let us hope for the best.

The Viceroy has asked me for an interview on the 10th at 12.40. I wonder what he would talk to me about. The Governor has asked me to dinner to meet the Viceroy on the 11th. You must have returned today from Matheran and we have to talk a lot about things.

I have, therefore, already arranged to leave by the night train on Monday the 8th and reach Bombay on the morning of the 9th. I have written to my son to fix up a room for me in one of the hotels there in Fort, which would be convenient for me, because I can take Sikander's car, as he lives in Dhanraj Mahal at Apollo Bunder. I have acknowledged and accepted the two invitations from Government House, but my state of health today, that is to say, if the fever does not disappear by tomorrow, I do not know whether I could carry out my trip to Bombay. There again let us hope for the best. I hope your stay at Matheran has recouped you sufficiently to bear the brunt of the League activities in the future. I shall take my chance and call on you on the 9th, say at about 5.P.M. If you wish to alter the time and can possibly get Sikander Khan Dehlavi's number, you can inform me accordingly through him. He ~~has~~ is on the phone, Manager of the Eastern Federal Union Insurance Co., Ltd., in Rahimtoola House, Homji Street, Fort, Bombay.

His name appears as Sikander Khan Dehlavi, in the Directory. I do not know his number. Otherwise I would have quoted it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

A M K Dehlavi

THE BOMBAY ELECTRIC SUPPLY AND TRAMWAYS COMPANY, LTD.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
"TRAMWAYS, BOMBAY."
CODE: BENTLEY'S
TELEPHONE NO. 26024 7 LINES

YOUR REF E.S.L. & R16/61.
OUR REF

ELECTRIC HOUSE,
POST FORT, BOMBAY NO.
- 6. JAN. 1940 19

Mahomedali Jinnah Esq.

Dear Sir/~~Madam~~

E.S. Minimum Consumption on Subtraction Meter Circuits.

We notice that the consumption on your heating circuit (subtraction Meter No. 22 6/8) during the last billing month is less than 32 units.

Clause 11(5)C of our "Conditions of Supply" reads as under:

"Meters: Subtraction:- Subtraction meters to main meters will be installed in the consumer's premises for metering energy supplied to:-

(a) Refrigerators.
(b) Storage Type Water Heaters.
(c) Domestic Electrical Appliances.

Provided the consumer guarantees to use not less than 32 units per month. Should the consumption fall short of this amount in any month the Company may withdraw the special facility of metering through a subtraction meter.

Note:- The Company will not install subtraction meters for loads exceeding 2 kilowatts."

We have therefore to request you to advise us whether you desire to retain the subtraction meter and pay us for a minimum of 32 units per month, or whether you desire us to remove and reinstall this meter as a main meter on the main service position on the ground floor. If the meter is to be installed as a main meter it will be necessary for you to extend your wiring to the service position and to pay us our connection fee of Rs.8/-.

If we do not hear from you in the matter within a week from the date hereof, we shall take it that you are agreeable to pay every month for the minimum of 32 units.

Yours faithfully,

For THE BOMBAY ELECTRIC SUPPLY & TRAMWAYS CO. LTD.

P. D. Mahaluxmivala

SECRETARY.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
January 9, 1940.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter no R16/66 dated 6th January, and beg to inform you that my bungalow at Little Gibbs Road was vacated by me on the 2nd December and is to be let, and any day a tenant may come and occupy it. Till then or for any reasonable time, I hope you will be good enough to allow the matter to stand. But if it is not possible for you to do so, I am afraid I cannot agree to pay for the minimum of 32 units per month while the house remains vacant.

Yours faithfully,

Sd: M.A.JINNAH

The Secretary,
The B.E.S.T. Co Ltd.,
Electric House,
Bombay.

"Sadar House",

S u r a t,

9th January 1940.

My dear Jinnah,

I am in bed still and had nearly 103 temperature last night. In the meanwhile, there have been wires and letters from Government House, Bombay and even communication ~~from~~ through the D.S.P. here, which first purported to change the interview with the Viceroy from the 10th to the 8th, which I could not possibly accept. Then the Secretary has changed it to the 11th. Looking to my present state of health, I do not think I can even be prepared to be in Bombay on the 11th. The Secretary has asked me to wire to him and I am going to do so today. I am, however, writing this to you, because in my last I had promised that I would call on you sometime in the evening on the 9th, which could not be done. I hope I have not dislocated your other work.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

AMK Dehlavi

Ghauspura,
Hyderabad (Deccan),
12 January 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

After my return from Bombay, in the third week of December last, I felt unwell and was unable to send you my greetings in time on the happy occasion of your 64th. birthday. I hope you will now accept my belated though most sincere greetings. I pray God to spare you to live and work with us for many more years to enjoy still greater victories and successes.

Allow me also to congratulate you on the successful termination of the 22nd. December Deliverance Day. It was a masterly stroke — a grand idea well conceived and admirably carried out.

Now, they want us to point them out a suitable alternative for "democracy".

The question naturally arises, why should they want it and why should we waste our valuable time in a fruitless controversy when they have decided to reject all our proposals? It has been their role ever since they came into existence. What right have they to sit in judgment over us when they have already announced their one-sided decision in favour of, what they call a constituent assembly without waiting even to hear our side of the case? Why should we submit our case to them when they have neither the power to give us, what we want, nor the capacity or even the will to understand our view-point? In fact, nobody else in the world can give us what we want. It is our own affair and we alone shall take it when we are properly organized as true Muslims.

Fundamentally, there can only be two conceptions

about forms of government:-

(1) Sovereignty of God: and

(2) Sovereignty of man.

Autocracy, aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy, ochlocracy, dictatorship, fascism, nazism, socialism, syndicalism, bolshevism, and all other modern "isms" fall under the second category, viz. sovereignty of man and are driving the world to destruction. To choose a form of government from this set is to choose an evil from among a number of evils. That every form of human government is liable to corruption is borne out by historical facts. Just survey the successive changes in Europe. When government by christian priests (misnamed "theocracy") went the intolerable depth of corruption it was succeeded by monarchy. When monarchy degenerated into tyranny it was gradually replaced by aristocracy. Aristocracy in its downward march became oligarchy. Oligarchy, in turn, went the usual downward course of human governments and died its natural death to give place to democracy. Democracy, as was inevitable, subsequently assumed the form of ochlocracy or mob-rule. This eventually led to anarchy and a strong autocrat disguised under the modern name of dictator became necessary to evolve order out of chaos. So the autocrat came in again to give a fresh start to the cycle already gone through before. Surely, it will serve no useful purpose to keep the world confined within the same vicious circle. Man-made constitutions and laws have failed and shall fail again. The world of to-day stands badly in need of something loftier.

Bitter historical experience coupled with sad ignorance of the higher [redacted] realities of life prompted a witty French philosopher to remark:- "If God did not exist it would be necessary to invent him". Thank God, we are far ahead of that philosopher in our knowledge of the realities and

stand in no need of the wittily suggested invention. We are firm believers in the real existence of God and we cannot afford to lose touch with Him in anything and everything that we think or say or do. We are, in fact, the only true exponents of the Sovereignty of God and we alone are capable of giving to the world that peaceful atmosphere which is the crying need of the hour. We are in proud possession of that genuine and perfect Divine Code which alone can prove a relief to the troubled world and shall raise the standard of humanity to a much higher level.

As Muslims, it is enough for our satisfaction and encouragement to have the authority of the Holy Qur'an in support of what we say. Ponder well over what the Al-Mighty says in the Holy Qur'an:-

> "Satan promiseth you destitution and enjoineth on you lewdness. But Allah promiseth you forgiveness from Himself and promiseth you bounty and abundance."
> (Chapter II, Verse 268)
>
> "We have pointed you out the right path; so follow it and follow not the whims of those who know not."
> (XLV-18)

Now just look to the appreciative terms in which Allah refers to the Muslim's superiority over those with a different outlook:-

> "Ye (Muslims) are the best people raised up unto mankind: Ye command that which is right and ye forbid that which is wrong: and ye believe in Allah." (III-110)
>
> "And those (Muslims) who, if We give them power in the land, establish worship (of one God) and pay zakât (poor-tax) and command what is right and forbid what is wrong. And Allah's is the sequel of events." (XXII-41)

"And thus have We appointed you a central people, that ye may be witnesses unto the rest of the people (of what the Apostle of Allah has revealed unto you) and that Muhammad (the Apostle of Allah) may be a witness unto you (of what has been revealed unto him by Allah)." (II-143)

That is the position assigned to us by our Lord and Creator. So, Muslims have to be leaders of mankind, not followers or collaborators of those who deviate from the right path or belong to a different school of thought. We may not be able to carry on our noble mission just at present and may still have to work very hard to enable ourselves to do our duty but our present inabilities do not in the least affect the lofty ideal set before us.

With such an outlook as ours, we cannot come to terms with those slaves of the West who have no ground of their own to stand upon, whose ideas are borrowed, and whose words and deeds are clumsy imitations of the West. People who are incapable of conceiving other alternatives besides fascism and bolshevism, who attach undue importance to a mere counting of heads and regard, not reason, but numbers as the only criterion of justice, and whose conception of religion fundamentally differs from that of ours cannot realize our position and can have no sympathy with our legitimate aspirations. People who have confined God within the four walls of their churches and temples and have restricted His jurisdiction to the narrow limits of private relationship between the Creator and the created can never appreciate the comprehensiveness of Islam and can never be expected to come to terms with Muslims on a reasonable basis. Gandhi's oft repeated theory that all religions are equally good is clearly anti-Islamic and does not stand the test of reason. There can only be one truth. Conflicting and contradictory beliefs and actions cannot all be true and equally

good at one and the same time. A mischievous theory like that amounts to a negation of religion. If Savarkar's recent utterance in Calcutta is to be considered an index of the modern Hindu mind, Hinduism ceases to be a religion and becomes merely a social order in which devotion to the "Fatherland" takes the place of devotion to God. They have lost touch with their own real self. They are often inconsistent and sometimes they do not even understand what they say. They talk of Ram Raj and democracy in the same breath -- and the more intelligent amongst them think of Ram Raj and talk of democracy -- but they do not realize that democracy can never be Ram Raj and Ram Raj was never democratic. It will be useless to waste arguments on people with such a mentality.

When a man or a group is not amenable to reason what is the remedy according to the advocates of the gospel of "Truth and Non-violence"? We know the remedy and we shall not fail to apply it when excigencies of the situation demand it.

Islam is a Divine Power -a World Force. We are an international people deputed to save the world of which India is merely a part. The fact of our being Muslims first and Muslims last cannot come in the way of our remaining good Indians. In fact, a Muslim who is not a good Muslim cannot be a good Indian -cannot be a good citizen of the world. Who is not true to his self and not true to his God can never be expected to be true to anything else. The hurdles that are being raised against us to-day in India are merely shadows of the more serious evil lurking elsewhere. We have to strike at the root and, in doing so, we shall have to fight single-handed with a grim determination to reach the goal unperturbed by the opponents' cunning ferocity, by their numbers, by their sinister organization, by their howling press and false propaganda. We know that truth always

conquers in the end and we have full confidence in our ultimate success.

But to do this, we shall have to infuse <u>true Islamic spirit</u> into the Muslim masses and shall have to arouse in them a proper sense of responsibility. The present deplorable plight of Muslims all over the world is due, not so much to the outside destructive forces operating against them, as to their lack of appreciation of their own value and of the immense constructive powers which Islam bestows upon its faithful followers. They sometimes seem to forget that they are a distinct people unique in their conception of life, unique in being inspired by the highest possible ideal, and unique in possession of gifts which if developed and used properly will change the entire state of affairs and convert the world into a far better abode for mankind. We have to do a lot to bring about that desired change in the mentality of such Muslims as have been snatched away from us through the various baneful influences of the day. With the reformed mentality of our people our most important task of organizing them will become much easier. Unfortunately, this essentially important work has not yet been started in a properly organized and effective manner. In this matter, I have some plans of my own which I hope to be able to discuss with you in the near future.

Hoping you are well, with kindest regards

Yours sincerely,

S. M. Zauqi

M. A. Jinnah, Esqr.,
Mt. Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

K.S. FAIZ MOHAMED KHAN

B.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
BOMBAY.

Ahmedabad.

15. 1. 40

My dear Jinnah Saheb,

I am writing this after a long time but I feel I must do it. I understand a Committee is being formed to tour Kathiawar in your company to collect funds. I am sorry I am not included in it seeing what I could do at Rajkot. As Dhang has been not treated in fair manner by

certain _friends_ of mine I think I owe a protest through you. I don't want name but I want to show my worth.

With steadfast loyalty to the League & you.

I remain

Yours

Jane

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
SIND

Larkana, Sind.
15th January 1940

My dear Mr: Jinnah

Many thanks for your letter of 9th. The Congress deputed Mr. Abdul Qayum Khan who has completed his inquiry. He was most of the time accompanied by Hindu workers of the Congress and therefore we cannot place any reliance on his report. You have stated in your letter that you are calling the Working Committee meeting in the last week of January. I would only request that the meeting may kindly be convened as early as possible in order that the League deputation may be able to visit Sind in early February. Pray let me know the date and time and place for the Working Committee meeting. The Sind Assembly is meeting on 26th instant. I will try to attend the Working Committee meeting to explain the situation personally to the members, in case it is held at Karachi or Lahore where I can conveniently be able to attend. In the alternative I do hope Sir Abdulla Harun will attend it.

With kind regards

I am

Yours sincerely

M. A. Khuhro

VICE-CHANCELLOR

C. R. REDDY.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
WALTAIR

15-I-40

Dear Mr Jinnah

Many thanks for yours of 9th. The printed copies of my two addresses – Jubilee & Ostrine – must have reached you by now. Kindly, if you can find it convenient to do so, go through & see how my constructive ideas strike you.

My suggestion that Muslim legislature members – provincial & Central – should decide whether the Muslim League, Ahrar-ittehadis or Jamiat-ul-Ulema is their representative by their vote, does not seem to have caught on. Congress can test your claim to be the sole representative by a vote of Muslim representatives. Rajagopalachari says that the present legislators can elect to the

Constituent Assembly. Surely then present Muslim M.L.A's & M.L.C's could decide as to which ~~body is~~ organisation embodies at its best & fullest their soul & secular aspirations.

I shall let you know when I will be in Bombay. As at present arranged it can only be for the day, between the trains. I look forward to meeting you. Provisional date of arrival is 28th or 29th Jany. Pray let me know your convenience.

Yours sincerely

C. R. Reddy

सेगाँव, वर्धा.
16. 1. 40.

Dear Qaide Azam,

I hate to write "Mr." before an Indian name. It is so unnatural. Hence I have been writing of you as Janab Jinnah Sahib according to the usage taught me by the late Hakim Sahib. But Amtul Salam tells me that in the League circles you are always called Qaide Azam. And you will see from the enclosed how the finishing

touch was given by a telegram I received from Gulbarg. I hope you will accept my assurance that what I have done has been done in good faith and out of regard for you. If, however, you would have me address you otherwise, I shall respect your wishes.

The purpose of writing this letter is to send you the enclosed advance copy of the article I have sent to Harijan. I have written it to further the end I have read in your recent

messages or actions. I know that you are quite capable of rising to the height required for the noble motive I have attributed to you. I do not mind your opposition to the Congress. But your plan to amalgamate all the parties opposed to the Congress at once gives your movement a national character. If you succeed you will free the country from the communal incubus and in my humble opinion give a lead to the Muslims & others for which you will deserve the

gratitude, not only of the Muslims but of all the other communities. I hope that my interpretation is correct. If I am mistaken you will please correct me.

This is a purely personal, private friendly letter. But you are free to make public use of it if you think it necessary.

Yours sincerely

M. K. Gandhi

A Welcome Move:

On the Deliverance thanks-giving day declared by Jinnah Saheb I had the following wire from Gulbarga Muslims:-"Deliverance day greetings. Quaide Azam Jinnah Zindabad." I took it as a message sent to ruffle my feelings. The senders little knew that the wire could not serve its purpose. When I received it I silently joined them in the wish "Long live Quaide Azam Jinnah." The Quaide Azam is an old comrade. What does it matter that today we do not see eye to eye in some matters? That can make no difference in my good will towards him.

But the Quaide Azam has given ~~has given~~ special reason for congratulating him. I had the pleasure of wiring him congratulations on his excellent Id day broadcast and now he commands further congratulations on forming pacts with parties who are opposed to the Congress policies and politics. He is thus lifting the Muslim League out of the communal rut and giving it a national character. I regard this step as perfectly legitimate. I obesrve that the Madras Justice party and Dr. Ambedkar's party have already joined Jinnah Sahib. The papers report too that Shree Savarkar the president of the Hindu Mahasabha is to see him presently. Jinnah Sahib himself has informed the public

that many non-Congress Hindus have expressed their sympathy with him. I regard this development as thoroughly healthy. Nothing can be better than that we should have in the country mainly two parties Congress and non-Congress or anti-congress, if the latter expression is preferred. Jinnah Sahib is giving the word minority a new and good content. The Congress majority is made up of a combination of Caste-Hindus, non-caste Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsies and Jews. Therefore it is a majority drawn from all classes representing a particular body of opinion and the proposed combination becomes a minority body of opinion. This may any day convert itself into a majority by commending itself to the electorate. Such an alignemnt of parties is a consummation devoutly to be wished. If the Quaide Azam can bring about the combination not only I but the whole of India willxxx shout with one acclamation "Long Live Quaide Azam Jinnah" for he will have brought about permanent and living' unity for which I am sure the whole nation is thirsting.

M.K. Gandhi

Segaon

15.1.1940.

Secretariat,

Bombay, 16th January 1940.

Dear Mr Jinnah.

I enquired about the case referred to in your letter dated the 11th instant, and I find that the papers have not yet come up to Government.

It seems that they are still with the Collector of Kolaba or the Commissioner, S.D. I am enquiring into the matter and shall take the necessary action on receiving the Commissioner's report.

The accompaniments to your letter are returned herewith.

Yours sincerely

J. G. [illegible]

M.A.Jinnah, Esq., Bar-at-Law,
Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

30

MAHOMED ALI & Co.
SOLICITORS.
MAHOMED ALI CHAIWALA.
Telephone No. 21314.

15, Military Square Lane, Fort.
Bombay. 16th January 1930.

*No.*______

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is suggested by the sympathisers and supporters of our ~~course~~ Cause that a letter should be addressed to Sir Adamji Haji Dawood as per letter enclosed and also to Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. Fazlul Hug so that if a good contribution is promised by Sir Adamji it will have the best effect possible upon the merchants of Kathiawar where we are going in a deputation and if a good beginning of Rs.25,000/- is made by Sir Adamji it is very likely that a sum of Rs.2 lacs can be easily collected in Kathiawar.

If you approve of the idea you can send the letters as typed or if you desire to make any alterations you may do so but if the letters go to day they reach Calcutta by Thursday and a wire can be expected by Saturday next before we start on our tour.

Yours sincerely,
Mahomed Ali Chaiwala

"Sadar House",

Surat,

19th January 1940.

My dear Jinnah,

I was so pleased to hear from you after long waiting. I am glad to read in papers that you are proceeding to Batwa. As a matter of fact, during my tour in the District here, I came across a very enthusiastic young Rangoon merchant, who has himself contributed 250 Rs. to the Press Fund, who gave me a few names of the great Batwa merchants, who were politically very enthusiastic and would contribute substantially. He advised me to proceed to Batwa myself. But he, at the same time, ~~advised~~ added that these people had their branches in Bombay, through whom they could be influenced. I can now easily see that that is a fact, because you and the party that is accompanying you to Batwa must be approaching those local people through their Bombay magnates. I wish you a grand success.

A point which I had discussed at Limbdi with

the Jamsaheb, the Maharaj of Porbandar and the Limbdi Yuvaraj Saheb led me to understand that the Jamsaheb intended that the Princes of Kathiawar, as natural leaders of their areas, should contribute substantially to our paper, and that we may not approach the subjects of Kathiawar States directly. However, all these and many other points still remain to be discussed with you. My unfortunate illness, which, really speaking, I brought from Limbdi, has upset all my programme with a few fortunate intervals, which I utilised in touring the District here, is still lingering about me. I am out of bed, but not really strong enough to travel. There are many other matt on which I should like to have been enlightened by you long before this. Anyway, I shall run down Bombay, specially for a talk with you, on your from Batwa, which, I understand, will be by a 28th. Ispahani, in the meanwhile, has given me guidance as to my touring expenses in the Province.

As to my running down to Bombay for the Id, it is impossible. Surat muslims have not yet forgiven

me for my long absence of 11 months from here. *Entre nous*, political activity in Surat and round-about gets stagnated, if I do not put in a driving force into it in time. The two or three public meetings in the city and one or two more round-about, have, I am glad to say, stirred people again.

I must now conclude, wishing you a very happy Id, and before it gets too late to congratulate you in person, offering you a brother's heartiest congratulations on your tremendous success of the "Deliverance Day".

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

a m k Dehlavi

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
January 21, 1940.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of 16th January and the advance copy of the article you have sent to the Harijan. I not only thank you for your courtesy but also for your anxiety to further the end you have been reading in my messages and actions. I, however, regret to have to say that your premises are wrong as you start with the theory of an Indian Nation that does not exist, and naturally, therefore, your conclusions are wrong. I should have thought, however, that you at least would not be led away by one-sided newspaper reports and canards. There is so much in your article which is the result of imagination. It is due partly to the fact that you are living a secluded life at Segaon, and partly because all your thoughts and actions are guided by "inner voice". You have very little concern with realities, or what might be termed by an ordinary mortal "practical politics". I sometimes wonder what can be common between practical politics ~~and a mahatma like~~ and yourself, between democracy and the dictator of a political organisation of which ~~he is~~ you are not even a four anna member. But that is, I suppose, because you do not consider the Congress worthy of your membership.

I am glad to learn that you were not ruffled by the "Deliverance Day" greetings sent to you from Gulbarga. It was indeed noble of

you to join in the silent prayer "Long live Qaid-i-Azam, Jinnah". Although these are trivial matters, I nevertheless appreciate that you have realised the true inword meaning and significance of the "Deliveranne Day".

It is true that many non-Congress Hindus expressed their sympathy with the Deliverance Day in justice to our cause, so also the leaders of the Justice party and the Scheduled Castes, and the Parsis who had suffered. But I am afraid that the meaning which you have tried to give to this alignment shows that you have not appreciated the true significance of it. It was partly a case of "adversity bringing strange bed-fellows together", and partly because common interest may lead Muslims and minorities to combine. I have no illusions in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. To-day you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what your motive in life was, "the thing that leads us to do what we do," whether it was religious, or social or political, said:- "Purely religious." "This was the question asked me by the late Mr. Montagu when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. 'How you, a social reformer,' he exclaimed, 'have found your way into this crowd?' My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified

"myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other actigities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of 'sound and fury signifying nothing!"

More than anyone else you happen to be thex man today who commands the confidence of Hindu India and arein a position to deliver thegx goods on their behalf. Is it too much to hopeand expect that you might play your legitimate role andx abandon your chase after a mirage? Events are moving fast, a campaign of polemics, or your weekly discourse in the Harijan on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics, or your peculiar doctrines regarding khaddar, ahimsa and spinning are not going to win India's freedom. Action and statesmanship alone will help us in our forward march. I believe that you might still rise to your stature in the service of our country and make your proper contribution towards leading India to contentment and happiness.

Lastly, I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet. So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much

about it. I, however, notice that the present prefix you are using is according to the usage taught to you by the late Hakim Sahib. But surprisingly enough during his lifetime and till long after his death, you addressed me as "Mr.", then quite recently you addressed me as "Shree", and in between as "friend", but please do not bother about this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Sd: M.A.JINNAH

M. K. Gandhi Esq.,

Segaon.

Calcutta,
The 22nd January, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th January. I have had a talk with Sir Adamji Haji Dawood, and I have done my best to induce him to subscribe substantially to the Fund. I am afraid, however, that he is very much worried about the future of jute. He seems to have embarked heavy speculations and the price of jute is showing a tendency to decrease. People say that if the decrease cannot be arrested he may be landed in financial loss to the extent of a few crores. But nevertheless, he has got enough money still and he can pay if he only intends to do so. I hope, however, that the difficulties of which he is so apprehensive are more fancied than real and that he will not hesitate to help the great cause which you have taken up.

I intend to attend the meeting of the Working Committee on the 3rd February and explain to you my views on some of the emergent matters of Muslim interests. It is now definitely certain that the Congress Ministers will come back to office. That has been always their intention and I never believed these hypocrites when they said that they will not come back to office unless some definite declarations of a particular kind were made by the British Government.

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They are a set of dishonest dissemblers and they will always find some excuse for what they do. The point which I wish to emphasise is the supreme necessity of urging upon the Viceroy not to allow Congress Ministries to be formed unless the Cabinet contains Muslim League representatives and unless the Viceroy gurantees that Muslim interests will not be injured in future as they have been in the past. I am sending a resolution (for the consideration of the Working Committee) to this effect.

Yours sincerely,
A.K. Fazlul Huq

M.A.Jinnah, Esq.,Bar-at-Law.,M.L.A.

7, LYTTON ROAD,
LAHORE.

Dated 24th January, 1940.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been keenly following the recent League-Congress controversy between yourself and the Congress High Command. I must say that the position for an Indian Muslim has become very intricate and delicate both on account of the Indian and the International situation. You have been captaining the bark of the Muslim League through a very rough sea.

My own political outlook is not concealed from you. However my close co-operation with the Congress for the last 20 years has forced serious considerations and new revelations upon me. Notwithstanding that I am still in a way connected with the Congress and am one of the three deputy-leaders of the Congress Assembly party in the Punjab, I cannot put to my credit much political activity for the last two or three years. Perhaps it has been almost none whatsoever. This I must frankly confess is mainly due to some confusion prevailing in my mind as to the best position to be adopted for the good of the Community and the Country at this most serious time. I wish you had attached greater weight to my suggestions made to you re the Ahrars and others on your visit to the

Punjab before the last General Elections which would have created happier prospects in this province and I would have been much more active. I hope the events which followed are indicative to support my contentions. You had your own difficulties then.

As I have said my mind is a bit confused in certain respects but I am trying to take lesson from my past experience in coming to a definite position which I should adopt, and then do my duty with all the vigour at my command. I cannot remain quiet much longer.

I have known you long enough both as a friend and a political leader of the unfortunate ~~Country~~ Community and I cannot ignore to consult you in my present state of mind before I take a definite leap. Would it be convenient to you to find enough time for me for an interview for a couple of hours during your stay in Delhi for the next Session of the Central Assembly or even earlier if possible? Saturdays, Sundays and general holidays will suit me better. Instead of Delhi any other place which is not far off will suit me equally well but I shall not be available before Saturday the 10th February which can suit me.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Mohammad Alam

Mohammad Ali Jinnah Esqr.,
Bar-at-Law,
M.L.A.,(Central),
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hills, BOMBAY.

DR. SIR ZIA UDDIN AHMAD,
KT., C. I. E., D. SC., PH. D., M. A. (CANTAB.)
M. L. A. (CENTRAL.)

ZAKA MANZIL.
MARRIS ROAD.
ALIGARH (U. P.)

17, Windsor Place,
New Delhi.
27th Jan, 1940.

My Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I request you to communicate me the exact time of your arrival in Delhi. I propose to hold a Party meeting on 5th of Feb, 1940 at 11 o'clock in the Party Room to discuss the Agenda of the Assembly Session. I am issuing the notice for the Party Meeting. We may possibly discuss the following resolution in the legislative Assembly on 8th Feb, 1940:-

" This Assembly requests the Governor General in Council to communicate to the Secretary of State for India that in any amendment to the existing constitution for India, it is essential that the manner of safeguarding the interests of minorities should not be left to the votes of the majority and that no amendment to the Constitution should be considered till the legitimate interests of the minorities are adequately safeguarded to the satisfaction of the minorities."

Yours Sincerely,

Zia Uddin Ahmad

Sir Charles Cunningham.

Flushing House,
Great Bookham, Surrey.
29th January 1940.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you some time ago on behalf of Lady Rhondda and at the suggestion of our mutual friend Sir Stanley Reed, asking for a contribution from you to a series of articles from the pens of the Indian leaders on the present political situation to be published in Lady Rhondda's weekly Time and Tide.

I have not heard from you in reply to my letter, but am writing again as the project has taken much more definite shape than it had when I wrote you last. Very considerable progress has now been made and articles are to hand, setting forth the viewpoint of the Congress from the pen of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar with a further contribution from Gandhiji himself promised, from Sir Mirza Ismail setting forth the standpoint of the States, and from other leaders of the great political interests out there. The series, when published, will quite certainly attract a great deal of public attention and interest in this country, and, handled as it will be handled editorially from the broadest aspect, it is likely to evoke reactions in the public mind ~~this~~ here that may matter greatly, and may help towards the solutions which all must agree are loudly called for by the existing situation.

Lady Rhondda is very conscious that the series will fall short of requirements and be glaringly incomplete failing a presentation of the case from the point of view of the Muslims of India for whom you are speaking and can speak. You will no doubt see that it is essential to her purpose that this defect should be made good, and she is

deferring the opening of the series in the strong hope that you will be kind enough to assist her. She trusts that you will recognise that the good and advantage of your great Community as of India as a whole are vitally concerned, and that you will agree that it would be more than a pity were the statement of the case from the Muslim point of view [redacted] to go by default. She knows well the spirit that has animated you in your public activities, and she hopes that in appealing to that spirit at this juncture she is on sure ground.

As I have said other articles are already to hand. The time is ripe for their publication, which anyhow cannot be postponed indefinitely. The consideration of urgency has indded become acute. I feel sure you will realise that the public interest is very closely concerned and that the need for a response from you is very pressing.

Your contribution should, as requested in my last letter, be addressed to 'The Viscountess Rhondda, Time and Tide, 32, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.' It should be posted by airmail at the earliest possible date. If however any difficulty stands in the way of your acceding to my request, I shall be very much obliged if you will let me know of it by return airmail. I need scarcely assure you though that the response from you which is being looked for will be very greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Khan Bahadur Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Sahib Bahadur.

Confidential

Dossa Court;
New Cuffe Parade, Bombay 5.
January 30th 40.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

In connection with the Muslim League Press propaganda I take the liberty to enclose for your consideration a memorandum which as its former Editor I had drawn up for the Eastern Times Lahore, the proprietors of which were being approached recently to convert it into a daily again. Since the memorandum calls attention to some of the chief aspects of the problem of an all-India Muslim English daily, it might serve as a useful basis for the Muslim League's consideration.

As Liaison Officer for India of the League of Nations I should not naturally like my name to be formally associated with any discussions on this subject, though I would, of course, be always only too happy to lend my assistance in this noble cause.

For the present, prior to my resuming my duties at Geneva, I happen to be temporarily stationed at Bombay with a view to extending the League of Nations' contacts in this part of India, and would be happy to have the opportunity and pleasure of seeing you. I would, therefore, gratefully appreciate to know when I could call on you.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours truely,

Waheed

(A.WAHEED)

MEMORANDUM DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM OF A NATIONAL MUSLIM-ENGLISH DAILY.

The chief factors. Any scheme for the establishment of a daily newspaper in English must examine the manifold aspects of the problem. It must discuss such questions as the paper's physical production and the distribution and the economics of newspaper production. While dealing with the finances of the newspaper enterprise, the scheme must deal with the question of advertising and circulation policy. It must also examine the problem of the personnel of the newspaper on both the production and the distribution side. The scheme must also take into account the question of production and handling of news and the various influences, internal and external, that are brought to bear on it in the process.

A realistic approach to the problem will at once reveal that there are many inherent limitation to any journalistic enterprise catering for the English-reading public among the Indian Muslims. Any Muslim-English daily, in its initial stages lasting over a period of several years is bound to ~~examine~~ assume the form of a specialised newspaper by virtue of its character. Its circulation in these initial stages is bound to be mainly among only a section of the Indian newspaper reading public. Geographical factors, the absence of special transport facilities and the persistent

influence of local conditions and problems and provincial policies and politics, preclude a Muslim English daily claiming a national coverage for itself in the same sense as for example the "Statesman" in India. A Muslim English newspaper therefore can cover only such parts of Northern India as are contiguous to the Punjab or are within 12 to 18 hours reach of its capital. This would mean that a Muslim English daily could aim at serving an area which includes in its radius the Punjab, the N.W. F. Province, Cashmere, Delhi, Sind, and Baluchistan. Even this vast area will enable the paper only to aspire to be a regional as compared with a national organ.

In the complex field of the physical production of the newspaper alone, such vital matters as the process of the preparation of the "copy", the setting up of the matter mechanically in "type", the "pulling" and "correcting" of "proofs", the assembling of the type in "pages" and completing them into "formes" before the completed newspaper can emerge for "despatch" and "distribution", call for the closest of examination. But, as this memorandum presupposes the availability of a first class printing concern equipped with the most modern and up-to-date newspaper machinery, it will not deal itself with such points as the organisation of a printing plant and the heavy financial commitments that this aspect of the newspaper problem involves both in the form of a gigantic initial outlay as well as considerable recurring expenditure. Again, it is not proposed to deal in this

memorandum with the problem of the Distribution of the paper which is an aspect no less important than the physical production and manufacture of the paper, because it is once again presumed that the services of wholesale news agents at all important moffusil towns will either be enlisted in coordination with other competitive dailies or organised on a separate and independent basis. The point needs some emphasis since quite often it is not realised that the distribution of newspapers is virtually controlled and is concentrared in a few hands. The monopolistic system of railway bookstalls with all its subsidiary local agencies tend to operate in a manner which in practice proves a serious obstacle in the path of anew publication. This aspect of the problem is not free from complexities owing furthermore to a somewhat natural conservatism of the newspaper reader. It must here suffice to say that the existing channels of distribution do not readily favour the already difficult task of distribution and circulation of a Muslim English daily, particularly after full allowance has been made for the genuine and quite often the fraudulent return of unsold copies by ~~these readers and~~ wholesale news agents. A mention of this fact has been included in the memodandum mainly with a view to indicating its potentiality as a factor of a not inconsiderable financial implication.

<u>The Finances of the Newspaper</u>. <u>The press cannot and does not exist on a purely commercial footing</u>.

The financial structure of a newspaper enterprise

presents a number of unusual features in consequence mainly of the complex nature of its revenue which normally should be equally derived from advertising and sale. Another striking feature is the large amount of working capital needed to keep a newspaper afloat until it establishes itself. As an investment, the press is considered all over the world an extremely risky sphere. It is a noteworthy factor that even in the countries of Western Europe where newspaper reading is a national habit and has given rise to powerful newspaper industries and where, owing to methods of mass production, the cost is comparatively low, a daily newspaper costs practically twice as much as it is priced for sale. A proper appreciation of this point should make it evident that the need to fill the gap between the return to the publisher and the actual cost per copy must be many times more in India where sale circulation, even of the greatest of daily newspapers, cannot bear comparison with any of the dailies of the west. This gap must therefore be filled by advertisement revenue or, failing that, from some other source.

The main items of expenditure of a newspaper budget may be stated briefly here. The largest single item is paper and ink which, according to the orthodox standard of newspaper industry should be roughly between 25 to 40% of the total budget. Production, editorial, distribution, canvassing and publicity should each account for some 10 to 20% of the running costs of a newspaper.

On the income side advertising and circulation constitute the two main sources of revenue. If the public is to get the large newspaper it demands, advertisements both "display" as well as "classified" are a necessity. The first need however of a daily newspaper is to have an assured and a guaranteed minimum sale circulation. In Great Britain it is considered that a four page paper without advertising would need at least 300.000 readers to keep it afloat. But in our own case, after making full allowance for conditions that obtain in this respect in India, particularly in Muslim India, it could be said that after cutting expenses absolutely to the bone, a 16 page English daily, without advertising, could keep afloat with a minimum of 10.000 subscribers. With that minimum circulation assured, the prospects of an Englishdaily being put on a self sufficient and a stable basis at once cease to be remote. In fact, the purchasing power of the average reader of a Muslim English daily is bound to pave the way for the paper to carry a certain amount of lucrative advertising. It will however be grossly misunderstanding the position to think that even at that stage a Muslim English daily could become a source of profit to its publishers; it will only allow compensating economies on the production and distribution sides to be relaxed to the extent of introducing a sense of stability which should characterise a national journalistic enterprise. In order to put the newspaper on a business, that is a commercial footing, it will still remain necessary to work the total

number of pages on a basis of 40% of advertising. To be a commercial ~~purpose~~ proposition, a 16 page English daily must carry at least 6 1/2 pages of advertising. Any increase in the number of pages must be accompanied by an increase in advertisements.

It needs here to be emphasised that to stabilise the circulation, registration of this minimum number of 10.000 readers is essential and there is reason to believe that Muslims in the region of Northern India indicated elsewhere in this memorandum have the capacity to respond sufficiently to the idea of establishing a cooperatively ~~managing of an~~ maintained English daily of their own to produce the required number of subscribers.

Not all the initial hurdles however should be considered to have been crossed once the required number of minimum subscribers has been secured. All the methods used in the ceaseless battle for circulation ranging from canvassing with or without free gifts, prize competitions and advertisements on hoardings, etc., shall still have to be continuously employed to maintain that level of minimum subscribers. Any journalistic venture which desires to escape the desasters which have attended similar enterprises in the past can think of no relaxation in this direction for an initial period of several years.

It has already been suggested elsewhere in this memorandum that half the revenue of a newspaper should normally be derived from advertisements; and here a Muslim

English daily at once faces a fundamental problem fraught with almost insurmontable obstacles. The existing economic structure of Muslim society in Northern India, for a long time to come, must preclude any possibility of a Muslim English daily entertaining any reasonable prospects of exploiting commercial advertising as a source of substantial revenue. Commerce, trade and industry requiring publicity are largely in the hands either of the Europeans or the Hindu community who have their own national organs to support. Moreover, there is throughout India no Muslim advertising agency on whose services a national Muslim organ could rely for any considerable part of its advertising business.

Advertising raises also another and perhaps a very fundamental problem which has its repercussions directly on the policy of the paper. Those who contribute half the revenue of a newspaper (that is the advertisers), are naturally in a strong position to exercise pressure on the paper. Assuming that a Muslim English daily manages somehow to secure a certain degree of advertising from European and Hindu commercial and industrial interests, it must, as an inevitable consequence thereof, be prepared to give way to a tendency to tone down, if not altogether suppress, items that seem likely to annoy advertisers, or give way to an even more serious tendency to soft-peddle problems that ought to be widely discussed in a national Muslim organ in view of their special interest to the community, but which are inconvenient to advertising interests. It

will be readily recognised that a national organ conducted in the national interest of the Indian Muslims, should be immune as far as possible from such harmful influence, but the alternative to it is fraught with equally serious financial consequences.

<u>Political parties and the Press.</u> A possible remedy however suggests itself. In the predominently Muslim region of Northern India which such a Muslim daily would be intended to cater for, there are bound to remain in political power parties or organisations Muslim in character, no matter how they label themselves for electioneering purposes. They are bound at all times to seek access to the press for the type of publicity which governmental bodies in all democratic countries are obliged to wish for. This publicity may fall under any of the following heads:

1) Publicity which aims at making routine administrative functions of the political party in power intelligible to the public.
2) Publicity which seeks to further specific tasks of administration.
3) Publicity which aims at building up a general atmosphere of goodwill and awareness.
4) Publicity which informs the public about the result of important undertakings by the party.
5) Publicity the object of which is to secure public support for a policy in advance of its approval by the

legislature.

Any political party in power, sensible to this imperative need for cultivating the confidence of its constituents, must increasingly appreciate the desirability for publicity of its doings and it is futile to expect of any newspaper that it will readily place its columns at the disposal of a party without the party shouldering the responsibility of sharing its financial burden. It is therefore clear that organisations or parties which wish to come and remain in power in this predominently Muslim region of Northern India must as a preliminary measure contribute towards securing their quota of subscribers which would bring the minimum level of sale circulation to enable a Muslim English daily to keep itself afloat.

<u>Cooperatively maintained enterprise.</u> The above explorations suggest that the most likely methods of a chieving the object of establishing a Muslim English daily would be by developing a type of a newspaper that is cooperatively maintained by its readers for a limited period of five years, for in this manner alone could the Muslim community face the financial demands of a problem which is admittedly a pressing one. It must here definitely be understood that this solution rigidly excludes public ownership of the expensive plant required for the production of such a newspaper publication. The method of cooperation would apply exclusively to the structure of the newspaper in sofar as matters of policy and circulation are concerned.

So as to make it a cooperative venture, a sort of treutification would be indispeneable, but it would give the newspaper the voice and strength of a movement, claiming millions of adherents. This proposed cooperativemainted structure of a newspaper could be so designed that a body of 10.000 subscribers should undertake:

1) to deposit their subscriptions for the first one year in advance, and
2) to enter into a bond with the publishers that the latter would be entitled to call for four further instalments of Rs 20/each to be paid by the subscribers in the form of their yearly subscription for the subsequent four years.

In order to give the whole transaction a technical shape with a view to making the obligation morally as well as legally binding, this body of 10.000 subscribers should be required individually to ~~accept~~ execute bonds stating their clear intention of having taken up shares of Rs.100 each in this cooperative enterprise, payable in five yearly instalments.

<u>The Readers of the Muslim English daily.</u> An overwhelmingly preponderant number of the readers of a Muslim English daily are bound to be Muslims. From the point of view of the income level the paper is likely to be taken on the whole by people with an income of Rs.200 and upwards per mensum. A factor of considerable importance in this connection is the deplorably low pear-

centage of English newspaper reading public among the Muslims, particularly of those who actually buy a newspaper every day. Besides a small number of officials and the administrative class who have to keep themselves in touch with events, the majority of the English reading public among the Muslims, including a large pearcentage of professionpal men, have not cultivated the habit of buying a daily paper for themselves. The number of clubs, libraries and institutions which can subscribe to a new daily is also exceedingly limited. In view of all this, it is essential that the day-to-day fluctuation in the readership of a Muslim daily should be curtailed to the absolute minimum.

Previous experience has shown that the reader interest among the middle class Muslims is always greater than among the well-to-do and the high official class. Special attention therefore has to be devoted to the question of maintaining this middle class' interest in the paper who really constitute its back bone. It is on the whole their taste, intelligence and economic status that reacts upon the press, because they form the mainstay of the circulation of such a daily.

Having been accustomed to handling bulky non-Muslim English dailies without paying serious attention to the ceaseless sacrifices and persistent gigantic efforts which have contributed to building up of these dailies into the first class papers that some of them are, the average Muslim reader is inclined to ask far more of his national

newspaper than a non-Muslim ever did in similar conditions of his own newspaper or than he is himself prepared to contribute to the making of his own national paper.

What he expects the paper to do is:

1) To be foremost with the news of the day and to present it in a manner acceptable to him.
2) To supply entertainment and to serve increasingly as a daily magazine.
3) To provide a lead for public opinion, especially at times of political stress.
4) To carry advertisements.
5) To provide advisory or ~~constructive~~ consultative services and to sponsor social, cultural and political movements, and
6) That the paper must compete in particular with broadcasting and the cinema, and with books, pericdicals, the pulpit, advertising and other intertainment media.

It will thus be seen that the average Muslim reader without endeavouring to create circumstances which would enable his national newspaper to develop itself into an organ of public opinion, capable of holding its own against the leading most newspapers of the country, demands that a Muslim English daily must either perform all what he wants or perish. This must create an unfortunate feeling of doubt whether a new Muslim English daily, subject to these conditions, can ever fully satisfy these demands. The situation is still further complicated by the cost of launching a national newspaper having risen to virtually prohibit-

ive extent. The extensive advertisements that non-Muslim English dailies are able to carry have encouraged the enlargement of their size and in particular the expansion of features and entertainment side to such an extent that a Muslim journalistic enterprise is placed at a great comparative disadvantage. There is however no gainsaying the fact that a Muslim English daily must perform and is capable of performing the basic function of the press, that is provide its readers with reliable news on which they can form sound opinion on cultural events. It must enable the aggrieved Muslim community to voice its opinion against aggressive and hostile interests and furthermore enable them to put effective pressure on great and powerful institutions from the Government downwards. Provided the condition of minimum readership as outlined elsewhere in this memorandum is fulfilled, a Muslim English daily is capable of performing all the above functions besides performing a reasonable amount of entertainment function.

<u>The Personnel of the Press.</u> Any scheme for the establishment of a Muslim English daily must necessarily take into account the important problem of its editorial, executive and administrative personnel. It is pertinent to remark here that the necessary talent, temperament and training such as are regarded as satisfactory according to general professional standards among journalists, are not readily available among Muslims. So few young Muslims

have had opportunities of practical knowledge of journalism that it is not easy to find competent and qualified persons to fill the higher personnel of the editorial staff. If the contents of the newspaper, particularly its comment, are not to be valueless and if the standards of accuracy and proper judgment are to be maintained, persons with special proficiency in history, economics, politics and similar other subjects, with a special flair for journalism, have to be sought for. Without a competent staff the papers' criticism is inevitably bound to be weak and ineffective, thereby defeating the very object of its existance.

As to the strength of the permanent executive and administrative staff, excluding local correspondents, canvassers and the staff engaged in the production, packing and distribution of the paper, it may be said that the minimum number required will be 8 on the editorial and 3 on the advertising side. On the editorial side these figures include only journalists, that is leader writers and sub-editors who will be required to prepare for publication the copy sent in by the correspondents, reporters and the news agencies and by no means take into account the number of local correspondents who will have to be engaged on the lineage or salary basis in order to collect news locally. Nor does this figure include reporters who will be required to be sent out for special missions and interviews. The clerical staff of another 10 persons comprising those engaged in work in the accounts, advertising, circulation, editorial and other departments

are also to be considered additional to the staff indicated above.

The number of local correspondents to be engaged on a lineage or salary basis may be easily between 40 to 60 in the whole of ~~all~~ the region to be covered by the newspaper, of whom at least one third must be full time correspondents. This arrangement does not again include correspondents in foreign countries or arrangements with news agencies abroad specialising in features of special interest to a Muslim English daily.

It may here be mentioned that to fulfil a genuine and a most urgent need as well as to justify its existence as a national organ of public opinion, a Muslim English daily will also be required to launch deliberate campaigns to rouse public opinion in favour of certain ~~objects~~ project especially of Muslim interest. Moreover such a journalistic venture will be required to specialise in features of a special cultural character. These special features, which would take about 15% of the peading matter, have per force to be undertaken by a special and an additional editorial staff.

<u>News Agencies</u>. A problem closely linked with the question of successful running of a Muslim English daily, is that of establishing a news agency. If the cause of the ~~English~~ Indian Muslims is not to be allowed to be damaged any further by the flood of hostile and tendancious news emanating from non-Muslim sources, a Muslim daily should possess special and additional facilities than are ordinarily

available to newspapers for the transmission of accurate news and of events of special interest and importance to the Muslims.

A very large portion of the news printed by most newspapers comes from news agencies who act as news factories. They prepare and send out the great bulk of ordinary news ready to be printed. The subtle influence that these news agencies are thus able to exercise in favour of a certain cause by giving special prominence to certain subjects, is considerable. The personalities of the executive of a news agency and the conscious or unconscious bias of those who actually collect or write up the news operate as very powerful influences which renders the treatment of news in a manner favourable to Muslims exceedingly difficult. Islamic subjects generally and cultural subjects particularly come off worst because so few journalists engaged in collecting or writing news are Muslims themselves or have any Islamic association or cultural training. This bias is also palpably noticeable in all political news. Tainted news so supplied leave little room for a Muslim English daily to mould raw material according to its requirements. It required little imagination to see how public opinion may be coloured by the manner of presenting, even collecting and reporting news, that is by the handling of news at the source.

The inadequacy of reporting news about Muslim activity is particularly conspicuous. Some of the misunderstandings existing between Hindu and Muslims, as also between the British Government and the Muslims, must be attributed to

this inadequacy of the press mechanism. Muslim organisations themselves have no provision for dealing with ~~actions~~ situations when they find themselves in the news. They are without means of making their work intelligible to the public through the press.

It may be doubtful economics for a Muslim English daily to organise a news agency for itself, but there is no gainsaying the fact that without such a service it will be considerably lacking in its effectiveness. A strong case exists for organising some sort of cooperative information service in coordination with the Muslim Urdu press which is equally seriously under-equipped in this respect.

In this memorandum endeavour has been made to discuss in very broad outlines some of the main problems affecting the organisation of a Muslim English daily. Only by an understanding of the considerations and issues which arise in this matter can a basis be decided upon which may be built a national organ of the Muslim community such as it has been demanding since the last half century or so. The memorandum makes no pretention to extensiveness or completeness. It only calls attention to some of the chief aspects of the problem which presses for a satisfactory solution. It has of course to be elaborated a great deal before the structure of a national Muslim English daily could be shaped on its basis.

Hyder Manzil,
Muslim Colony,
Karachi,
1st February 1940.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

When you had been last time to Karachi on the occasion of the ~~All India~~ Sind Provincial Muslim League conference, I had an occasion of acquainting you with my personal feelings about the Muslim League. You were very kind enough to appreciate them and felt that I might continue to remain outside the Muslim League. The circumstances that then forced me to join the Muslim League are known to you. Soon followed betrayal of K.B. Allah Bux and others who at one time talked loud of need of solidarity of Muslims and therefore necessity of my not being let out of the Muslim League fold. I submitted to these pretentions as I did not want my personal feeling, which I have always subordinated to larger interests, being made an excuse for frustration of the achievement of the noble object of the solidarity that was being much talked of. I sacrificed my personal feelings not because it was a question of Muslim solidarity but because I have always valued solidarity as an efficient weapon for chieving great good.

I was last to join the Muslim League in Sind because of the value, and feeling of sacredness that I attach to membership of a any organisation. Having joined, I have stood by it and seen that its prestige and solidarity grow. I dare say that the Muslim League in Sind today can look up with pride of its existence.

I have no ambition of leadership and so far, posts have

never had any value with for me, but as a soldier, I feel I have my own privileges and responsibility. It is in that spirit that I have sat today to write to you my submission - the submission of a Soldier to his wise General.

I know in India, no one of late has achieved the solidarity of Muslims as you have. No more, Muslims are looked down and their existance ignored as was the case a decade back and all this is due to your leadership. But I am sure you consider the acquisition of force as means and not the end. I submit time has come that instead of merely concentrating on development of force of solidarity and discipline , we should direct ourselves to its employment for the achievement of our object. The service of our country. I therefore submit that time has come for changing tactics and diverting your unchallenged power of leadership to achievement of ultimate end. By this I mean our joining our hands with the Congress, the other All India recognised and organised Institution.

You must be aware of the sad happenings in Sind of which every Human being must feel sorry. I know the world is being fooled to believe that the Muslim League is responsible for the horrible tragedies. I do not care for it as it is no new game in politics. I am a firm believer in action and reaction. So long as we are clean in our minds, we have nothing to feel perturbed for. It will not take long for truth to shine out. K.B. Allah Bakhsh and his Government whom I hold directly responsible for these atrocities have already started tasting the fruit of their devilish deeds.

I have referred to the above episodes, as being a Sindhi, I cannot escape the torturous feelings that every human being is bound to feel when he comes in contact with such human sufferings, that have accurred in Sind. The worst is that I apprehend more of them in the near future if the present intriguing situation is not cleared. I am conscious how the Hindus and congress have contributed by their foolish and short -sighted politics to this sad end, but this is not the occasion for apportioning the blame.

Not that I hold the Muslim League responsible for these tragedies, but I cannot help feeling that but for estrangement between the congress and the Muslim League, the political exploitation responsible for the tragedies would never have been possible. What is true in Sind must be true in varying degrees for the rest of India. The two great organisations by their able leadership and sacrifices have become great National forces both aiming at the same common goal, though working in their own different ways. Unfortunately instead of working together, they are likely to exhaust themselves by mutual quarrels which is bound to lead to chaos. It would be a tragedy if forgetting the goal both the organisations exhaust themselves in fight with each other.

The best place for both the organisations to work together or try that experiment in our province of Sind where the programme of both is to be indentical, putting the congress to its true test — of professing their anxiety to ~~[illegible]~~ devote themsleves to the ~~[illegible]~~ amelioration of masses, which in Sind happen to be mostly muslims.

It is difficult to adequately express one's feelings in

words, but I have tried my best to do so and leave the rest to you my Leader, whom I trust fully of being capable of reading and appreciating feelings of his soldiers.

Yours in the cause of the Country.

G. M. Syed

PESHAWAR.

DATED 10. 2. 1940

My dear Sir,

On arrival I saw P.S. to H.E. Governor & gave him the first [illegible] Delhi talks — H.E. invited me for an interview today which lasted for one hour and half.

All aspects were explained to him. He liked immensely your ideas

i) we are not a minority

ii) British system unsuited to India

iii) we are a nation & [illegible] must have a home. [illegible] accepted & have given up idea Federation

& was pleased with—

Sovereign States in direct alliance with Crown — Centre only on one condition if it suits us — otherwise no Centre — we will have three homes for centre Swiss Cantonal System impressed him tremendously.

He likes idea of League deputation to England
alone —

He has received definite instructions from
H.E. the Viceroy. He is in a better frame of
mind. As to Premiership I assured him
that Mr Jinnah through Sir Sikander or
himself will distribute portfolios — He
suggested he will bring round to idea of
Unionism as in Punjab. I have written
the gist of this to Sir Sikander.

I saw Mr Samin Jan & will get his
written conversation 14th Feby —

I interview today — & hope he will
agree —

Hindu group — Interview tomorrow at 10 am
Letter will follow.

I impressed upon Governor that if Muslim Ministry
comes in N.W.F.P. & means to cooperate for you —
H.E. Viceroy & British Govt — he will help to the
utmost capacity —

Another letter tomorrow — Please convey
my fraternal thanks to Mrs Jinnah for sumptuous
lunch — time is short — I must close — I have to go to [illegible] with regards [illegible] [illegible]

Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar.
B. A., L.L. B., M. L. A., ADVOCATE.
ઇસ્માઇલ ઇબ્રાહીમ ચુંદરીગર,
બી. એ., એલએલ. બી., એમ. એલ એ.,
એડવોકેટ.

Phone : 45089
Noor mansion, Near Wilson College,
7, CHOWPATTY SEA FACE.
BOMBAY-7.
નુર મેનશન, વીલસન કોલેજની લાઈનમાં,
૭, ચોપાટી સી ફેસ, મુંબઈ-૭.

10-2-40

My dear Jinnahsaheb,

I hope you must have already written to Mr. Gibson, A.G.G., Western India States, Rajkot requesting him to use his good offices to persuade the Bhavnagar State Authorities to appoint an independent European Judge to try the appeal filed by the 32 persons convicted by the

Additional Sessions Judge of Bhavnagar and the State appeal against the acquittal convicted persons.

Mr. Lakhani has sent you a copy of my letter to Sir Sikander Hayat Khan dated 3-[illegible]-40 and a copy of the application of the Muslim Relief Committee to the Resident dated 18-1-40. They will put you in possession of all the facts.

If you have not already written to him, please write to him immediately.

If no independent Judge is appointed, the State to appear before this Judge, I am of opinion that I should personally see H. H. The Maharaja of Bhavnagar & appeal to him to appoint an independent judge. If he declines, I should see Mr. Gibson personally. After failing ~~to~~ to get our demand

at both the places, the original

decision should be adhered to.
If you so advise, I might see Mr. Gibson first & then H. H.
I would like to have your

views at your earliest convenience

Please send an early

reply, as the appeals are

now finally fixed for hearing

on 26-2-40.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely

[signature]

MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN,
M.L.A.
B. A., LL. B. (Alig)

ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR.

11. 2. 40

Dear Sir

I send a cutting from Mr Gandhi's Cable. As long as our deputation does not go to England your statements at least once a week must kindly go to England through Cable. That means propaganda. That back number Sir Agha Khan has come to do his mischief. He wants to mobolise Muslim

Charlatans but God willing
he will not succeed.

Your kind advice has
sunk deeper in my mind
God willing we will succeed.
Inshaalla you will
find me a loyal soldier

With regards

Yours sincerely

Mohd Aurangzeb

P.S. "There is no analogy between
the Dominions & India — India's
is a case by itself & has to be
treated as such. It should
be clearly understood that every"
problem is of Britain's own making

This admission that "there is

as analogy" of "Indias" is
a case by itself is the best one.
If Indias is a case by itself
then your Scheme
a) then we are not a minority
b) British System of democracy is
unsuited to us.
c) we a nation of we must have
a home.
d) Centre – not a necessity –
connection or tie with Crown is
indissoluble.
e) No counting of heads
f) Swiss Cantons etc will
~~form~~ a fitting rejoinder in your
original & inimitable style
This is a suggestion only for your
kind approval
C.H.R.

9 Gariahat Road.
Calcutta.
the 13th February, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have read with great interest your speech on the E.P.T Bill. I hope you will kindly bear in mind the point of view pressed by me.

I am rather concerned about the resolution passed by the Working Committee regarding the sending of a delegation to England. Some body ought to have been made responsible for making all the necessary arrangements and arranging about the visit. Reports have appeared in the papers that Sir Sikandar Hayat

is not likely to go before the end of April. Going so late as that will be practically useless. I think the Secretary of the Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, should take this matter in his hand and give his special attention to it. He should write to every delegate and find out when they propose to leave India, and arrange for their passage etc. It was recognized by all the members that the sending of the Muslim League delegation was of imperative importance. It was generally admitted that the Muslim case is going by default in England. The

The question of the continuance of Section 93 will come up before the Parliament sometime about the middle of April, therefore the delegation must leave India, at the latest, by the first week of April.

I have mentioned to one or two Europeans about our demands. They find it difficult to accept such a revolutionary proposal. They maintain that it is against all the accepted ideas about the future of India. It is opposed to all the schemes, plans and principles decided upon at the last Round Table Conference. If this is the condition here it is going

to be much more difficult in England. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that before the delegation leaves India a fairly complete outline of the scheme together with a comprehensive reasoned note in support of it should be made. One Englishman has said something which will appeal to people in England, namely we want an Ulster in India.

I hope you will excuse me for this long letter but I thought it advisable to bring all this to your notice.

Yours sincerely,

Bhaz Imaddin

M.A. Jinnah Esqr.,

Tele {grams: "COMFORT"
phone {7788
7705

HOTEL IMPERIAL
QUEENSWAY
NEW DELHI

14. 2. 40

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Before leaving Delhi I must write to thank you for giving me an opportunity to have a long talk & for asking me to lunch.

Now that I am writing this letter it is as well that

I should request you not to ask Sir Sikandar to give me some job because there is every chance of his misunderstanding your intentions & of doubting my motives. He knows that our temperaments differ, & naturally he wants those around him who look upon every thing from his angle

of vision. — I am quite
happy as I am, and
am anxious to serve
you because I find
in you certain qualities
which are lacking
in others. I doubt if
I am capable of serving
those who do not
have my respect —
in fact I know that
I cannot persuade
myself to sell my
services like many

others do.

This is a personal letter, and I hope that you will treat it as such.

Yours sincerely

M. Nawaz.

INDIAN STATES BULLETIN.
(THE VOICE OF THE STATES)

HAMERTON HOUSE
23. KAHUN ROAD.
(CAMP) POONA

February 18/40

Dear Mr Jinnah.

I am having 10,000 copies of your admirable article reproduced in booklet form for distribution here in India and in England. It will be printed with permission and acknowledgements. I have just received permission from the Editor of the Statesman to reprint in booklet form, the articles by "Shahed" which appear weekly in that paper. The booklets will be sent to Members of Parliament and to the Editors of the leading newspapers in England. The points of view of the Muslims of India and those of the minorities are very imperfectly understood in Britain. I am arranging also for a weekly column in the Bombay Standard for our "Moslem Political Notes". I would be most grateful for material for publication in the press, and I would request you to kindly instruct your Secretary to send me all useful material regularly. My friend Mr Ahmed Jaffer is busy assisting me in this propaganda work, and I am engaging the services of other Moslem friends here in Poona & Bombay. Any suggestions you may have I would be most glad to receive. I'll be sending you our first "Moslem Political Notes" shortly.

Best wishes
Yours sincerely
J D Jenkins.

PETIT HALL.
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY

19th. February 1940.

My dear J,

I am sorry I missed you in Bombay but the one day you were there since my return from Bhopal, I was rather worried as both Sylla and Dabeh were ill.

I saw Hamilton the other day. He told me that as they had already managed to raise the necessary money they were not prepared to stand by their original offer. For Rs.50,000 they would give us a majority on the board but this money would have to be given without any security. I suspect that the truth of this is that when he saw that you were in earnest and meant to go into the matter deeply, he realised that he had no security to offer and this is his way of getting out of it. Without security, of course, I personally could not consider lending him Rs.20,000. But let us be patient, I learn from good sources that in spite of their newly raised funds the gentlemen in question are having difficulty in meeting their expenses and even their wages, and if I am not very much

PETIT HALL,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY.

mistaken they will be round again very shortly.

With reference to our friend, this is what he said:- "Faly, I would be only too pleased to do everything I can to help, and I will, but only when Jinnah gives me a definite assurance that he will not join up with the Congress. He is always playing about with them and I am afraid that he might do so, in which case the money will be as good as wasted."

I am going to Hyderabad as Khusru Jung's guest round about the middle of next month and shall tackle him and others there.

My departure for Europe is most uncertain and it is more than likely that I shall be here when you return.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Faly.

WESTERN INDIA STATES AGENCY

Personal.

THE RESIDENCY,

Rajkot, the 21st February, 40.

Dear Mr. Jinnah

I have been away from Rajkot on tour and that is why I have not written before to thank you for your private and confidential letter of February 13th. I shall be seeing the Dewan of Bhavnagar in the course of the next few days and will mention to him the matter about which you write.

Yours sincerely

E C Gibson

M.A. Jinnah, Esquire,
10. Aurangzeb Road,
NEW DELHI.

United India Building,
Phirozshah Mehta Road,
Fort, Bombay,
27th February, 1940.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I regret very much I could not attend the Council Meeting due to pressure of work I have here.

Mr. Hamilton of "Sunday Standard" came to see me today regarding the "Morning Standard" which they have started from the 1st February, 1940. He gave me to understand that the circulation of those copies were 19,000 and that it has now fallen down to about 4,000. He further gave me to understand that as he was defending the cause of the Muslim League, he has been obliged to lose the circulation from Kalbadevi, Bhuleshwar and Mazagaon. I believe Mr. Hamilton has written a letter to you to this effect.

He further gave me to understand that he was still in hopes that something will be done at the earliest by you. I personally feel that if you would do something at the earliest regarding finance which we are all trying to collect here - and a certain amount has already been collected - it will serve our purpose to have a Muslim League Organ for the purpose of propaganda. I hope you will be kind enough to reply to this letter.

Hoping this will find you in the best of health,

Yours sincerely,

M.A.Jinnah, Esq.,
Bombay.

Hyderabad-Dn.

the 28th.February,1940.

My dear Mr.Jinnah,

I may be visiting Delhi for a few days by the middle of March.It is,however,not certain yet whether I shall be able to do so.

You will probably be appointing new members for your Working Committee very soon.I have to suggest that M.Latifur Rahman,B.A.and M.L.A,of Gaya,who is the President of the Bihar Provincial Momin Conference may be appointed instead of reappointing Mohammad Ashique Warsi.Latifur Rahman,is far more useful and a greater source of strength to the Muslim League than Ashique Warsi has been or can be. I attach great importance to Latifur Rahman,in view of the necessity of counteracting the false propaganda of some of his castemen(Momins) who unfortunately have become agents of the Congress either foolishly or selfishly.Latifur Rahman, is a staunch supporter of the League and is lately giving considerable time to strengthen the organization.He is a member of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League for the last two years.

The vacancy caused by my resignation may be filled in by S.M.Sharif,Barrister,who is one of the Vice Presidents of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and a member and supporter of the League for the last 25 years.His services in preparing the two Reports about the mal-administration and sufferings of the Muslims in Bihar during Congress regime have been most valuable. Whoever may be elected as President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League in my place Sharif would be preferable to him for a place in the Working Committee of All India Muslim League. I am therefore definitely of opinion that Latifur Rahman and Sharif would be the best representatives of Bihar in your Working Committee and the oppointments if so made will meet with public approval and satisfaction.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

BY APPOINTMENT.

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3rd March, 1940.

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Amount ax per our bill dated the 19th April, 1939.	....	Rs. 10882	4	-
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		Rs. 11414	6	-
Less.				
Credit Note issued on 21st April, 1939.	... Rs. 156/12			
Amount received as per your letter dated the 27th July, 1939.	... Rs. 4000/-			
Amount received as per your letter dated the 19th December, 1939.	... Rs. 4000/-			
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16th. March.

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I must have seemed ungracious and rude not having thanked you for your response to my request and your kind letter of 19th January ere now. The explanation is that I have been laid up and very seriously ill for the last many weeks, and have been unable to attend to any correspondence. Will you accept my very sincere if belated thanks now and forgive the unavoidable delay? May I also congratulate you on your very trenchant and able article? Lady Rhondda opened the series with it, and I have had evidence from many different directions of the powerful impression which

it created. What a very unfortunate business the assassination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been. People here though realise that it was the work of an irresponsible, and it may not fortunately create bad blood.

Very many thanks again

Yours sincerely

Charles Cunningham

Personal

3, Durand Road,

Lahore,

28th March, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah

I am sorry I could not meet you during your stay in Lahore on account of my confinement to bed since the 27th of December, 1939.

I am sorry to write this letter to you but I cannot help doing so. Probably you remember that I have considered you my Leader during the last 25 years and have always been loyal to you. In my own humble way I tried to help you and displeased my Punjab friends. Probably you know or if you do not know you can varify that it was this humble admirer of your's who was responsible for making the Lahore League unsuccessful and there was a split -- when you were holding your Session at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Maulvi Sir Mohammad Yaqub.

I expected it that you during your stay will atleast enquire after my health. People might have forgotten but I cannot imagine that you were not acquainted with my serious illness. You were very busy but, I am afraid, you cannot be too busy to find time to send a message to me.

Miss Jinnah met everybody and she could have also come to meet my wife. My wife has been nursing me for the last three months and she has not moved out of the house for the last six weeks. I felt this and it is always my habit to acquaint my friends with my feelings. Anyhow, I have no grievance. I am a member of the Muslim League and my relations of loyalty with you will always remain unshattered.

With best wishes

Yours ever

Mahmudabad (Oudh),
29th. March, 1940.

My dear [illegible],

I am writing this in connection with a Conference of Shias of All Parties which I am calling on the 14th. & 15th of April, with the object of framing a policy for the Shias of the country in accordance with their general desire and representative opinion. Sir Sultan Ahmad is going to preside over the Conference and many prominent persons have been invited.

Before I proceed to put before you the reasons and objects which have led me to call this Conference, I should like to remind you that on more than one occasion I have had the opportunity of laying before you my views about the Shias. It is possible that I might have failed to put my view-point clearly before you. I, therefore, repeat the points with the hope that if you do not agree with me you will at least guide and advise me. I feel that your opinion in this matter will go a long way in moulding the future of the Shias and I, there-

fore, implore you to give your very best consideration to the case of the Shias before pronouncing an opinion.

It is true that when we come to think of the graver problems which confront the Muslims at large and which equally affect both Shias and sunnis, their differences seem to be very small. It is true that whereas the gulf which divides the Hindus and the Muslims is much wider and the issues between them are much greater, the position of the Shias among the Muslims is merely that of a religious section; ~~yet between the Shias and Sunnis the same analogy as that~~ of the Catholics and Protestants holds good. Both these sects in England held one culture, spoke one language and followed one religion; but the mere difference of certain beliefs and interpretations led to such persecutions and cruelties which were by no means justified.

In Europe this very difference of sects resulted in the Hundred Year's war between the Catholics and the Protestants. In the same way it is possible that the seemingly little difference of Shias and Sunnis may sooner or later, result in similar consequences, if no effort is made to safeguard the fundamental rights of the Shias to their Satisfaction.

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Even today as we sit together and talk of unity among the Muslim ranks, the flame of hatred is being kindled all over the place. In elections sectarian propaganda succeeds in poisoning the minds of the illiterate masses and even those Shia candidates who are eventually successful have to face enormous opposition. Even in the legislature Shia members cannot freely give vent to the true sentiments of the Shias for the fear of the electorate. In the religious field forces are at work, night and day, which aim at suppressing our beliefs and try to deprive us of the liberty which we possess (and which it is our right to possess) for the performance of our religious duties.

It may seem that this discontent and discord is limitted to certain portions of India but let me assure you that during the last year and half, I have been in extensive correspondance with the Shias of all Provinces and the letters in my file and the articles which have appeared in English as well as in vernacular Papers prove that the Shias have for some reason or other lost that confidence which they once had in their Sunni bretheren and they feel that their position will be secured only when certain safeguards are given to them

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constitutionally. These safeguards, however, will be different from those which have been given to the minorities in this country as a whole.

The Shias will neither ask for reservation of seats nor will they think of any measure which may tend to separate them from the rest of the Muslim Communtiy. They will join hand hands in the struggle for the rights of the Musalmans and will enjoy all those safeguards which the Muslims may be given in the future constitution; but in addition to those safeguards they will demand other safeguards within the Muslim community and so far as I can see they will formulate their demands on the following principles:-

(A) That Shias will have a voice in the elected bodies and governmental institution and that in any matter which might affect the Shias justice and equity will be applied rather than rule of the majority.

(B) That the liberty of religious observances and beliefs for the Shias shall be guaranteed against any infringement thereupon by any party.

(C) That as a further safeguard, the Governors of the

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Provinces and the Governor General of India shall be given special powers to exercise in favour of the Shias in case any injustice is done to them by any party.

(D) That all Shia Waqfs will be exclusively under the control of Shias.

(E) If any law is passed in accordance with the Muslim Hanafi Law, the special principles of the Shia Shariat must also be taken into consideration.

I feel that unless these principles are accepted the Shias cannot find themselves in a position of honour and security in the Muslim nation.

With affectionate regards,

Yours Affectionately,

Amir Haider Khan

(Nabben)

102

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6th April 1940

M.A.Jinnah Esq:
10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

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Yours faithfully,
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10 Aurangzeb Road,

New Delhi.

14-15 CONNAUGHT PLACE,
NEW DELHI.

6th April 1940

	FURNISHING				
	SITTING ROOM FIRST FLOOR IN TEAKWOOD POLISHED MAHOGANY COLOUR				
1.	3' 0" Commode with 3 drawers & 2 cupboards. One shelf in each.	Rs	250	-	-
1.	Side Table 3' 0" x 14"	Rs	195	-	-
1.	Chair, shell shaped to match existing covered in material @ Rs 7/- per yd	Rs	85	-	-
2.	Circular tables 20" high x 1' 6" diameter @ Rs 43/- each	Rs	86	-	-
	Strip and reupholster 1 shell shaped settee & one easy chair in material @ Rs 7/- per yd.	Rs	135	-	-
	Upholster seat only & supply four shaped cushions to fixed bench, covered in material @ Rs 7/- per yd	Rs	60	-	-
1.	Parchment shade to Electric Standard Lamp	Rs	12	8	-
	One Divan 5' 6" long with shell shaped head & arm on left side, upholstered in material @ Rs 7/- per yd.	Rs	125	-	-
		Rs	948	8	-

(Rupees Nine Hundred, & Forty- Eight
Annas Eight only

[illegible signature]
For WARING & GILLOW LTD

[illegible]

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.
April 8, 1940.

My dear Amir Haider Khan,

I have received your letter of the 29th of March and am really sorry that your mind is still working in the direction which is not likely to benefit the Shias. I have spoken to the leaders and sponsors of the Shia Conference and discussed matters with them. I have also discussed the question at great length with you. I do not think I can say anything more. I still hope that you and other prominent Shia leaders will see your way and persuade the Shias to come inside the League first, and then press equity and justice. I see no reason why the Shias should be debarred from having their voice in the elected bodies and governmental institutions in any matter which affect the Shias. We must so organise the Muslim League that justice is done to every sect and section inside it.

Then as regards the liberty of religious observances and beliefs for Shias, surely it is quite elementary that, if the Muslim League organisation is worth anything, it must see that no infringement of that liberty is allowed. I am rather taken aback when you say that, as a further safeguard, the Governors of the Provinces and the Governor- General of India should be given special powers to exercise in favour of the Shias in case any injustice is done to them by any party. Don't you realise that the hand of the British Government is disappearing rapidly. Did not the minorities have experience, during the last 2½ years, of the exercise of the so-called special powers of the Governors and of the Governor-General, and don't you realise that even according to the declaration of His Majesty's Government, the termination of the British regime is implicit in it.

As regards the Shia Waqfs, I do not see what objection can there be to there being exclusively under the control of the Shias. As regards your last point, if law is passed in accordance with Muslim Hanafi Law, the special principles of Shia Shariat must also be taken into consideration, I do not quite understand it. I do not think it is open to anyone to vary the principles of Shia Shariat, and how can it be in the interests of anyone else to do so.

You will forgive me if I do not see eye to eye with you. I once more appeal to you that you, at any rate, should not mix yourself up with the proposed conference. The proper policy for the Shias is to join the League whole-heartedly. The League is now able to enforce justice and fair play between Mussalman and Mussalman whatever be his sect or section. The one thing alone that matters is that we are all Mussalmans.

With affectionate regards,

Yours affectionately,

Sd: M.A.JINNAH

Maharajkumar Amir Haider Khan Saheb of
Mahmudabad.

mohammad amir ahmad
mahmudabad

My dearest uncle,

I have been lately very ill - mentally. My brain works like a wireless in bad atmospherics. I cannot think and even if some idea comes, it is so distorted and mutilated that I cannot myself understand it.

I will come to Bombay as soon as I feel a little better. God only knows what is happening to me.

Please convey my respectful regards to Phophi and love to yourself.

Yours

Amir.

date 20th April 1940 day Saturday time 2·35 pm.

TELEPHONE 24384.

JORAWAR BHUVAN,
35, QUEEN'S ROAD, MARINE LINES,

BOMBAY, 13th July 1940

To

Dr. A. G. Erulkar
M.D. (London)

Reference - Cytological examination of blood of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Total red and white blood cells and haemoglobin percentage:

			Average in males
Red blood cells	...	4,280,000 per cmm	5,510,000 per cmm
White blood cells	...	8,000 per cmm	7,800 per cmm
Haemoglobin	...	14.4 grms	15.8 grms
Haemoglobin percentage		91 %	
Colour index		1	

Differential white blood cell count:

Polymorphs	...	72 %
Lymphocytes	...	23 %
Large hyalines		4 %
Eosinophiles		1 %
Abnormal cells	...	Slight poikilocytosis
Immature cells	...	None present
Blood parasites	...	None present

[signature] M.D.

TELEPHONE 24384.

JORAWAR BHUVAN,
35, QUEEN'S ROAD, MARINE LINES,
BOMBAY, 13th July 1940

To ..

Dr. A. G. Erulkar
M.D. (London)

Reference - Routine examination of urine of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Physical characters:

Quantity	...	230 c.c.
Colour	...	Yellow
Appearance	...	Clear
Sediment	...	Not present
Specific gravity		1010

Chemical examination:

Reaction to litmus	...	Acid
Albumin	...	Not present
Sugar	...	Not present
Ketone bodies	...	Not present
Bile salts	...	Not present
Bile pigments	...	Not present
Indican	...	N ot present

Microscopic examination:

Red blood cells	...	Not present
Pus cells	...	Not present
Epithelial cells	...	Present occasional: from bladder and higher urinary tract.
Casts ..	...	None present
Crystals ..	....	None present

A. Hamid
M.D.

JORAWAR BHUVAN,
35, QUEEN'S ROAD, MARINE LINES,

TELEPHONE 24384.

BOMBAY, 14th July 1940

To

Dr. ..G.Erulkar

M.D.(London)

Reference - Routine examination of faeces of Mr.M.A.Jinnah.

Physical characters:

Colour	...	Gray
Consistency	...	Semi solid
Mucus	...	Not present
Blood naked eye	...	Not present
Fermentation	...	Not present
Adult worms or segments	..	Not present

Microscopic examination:

Red blood cells	...	Not present
Pus cells	...	Not present
Macrophages	...	Not present
Parasites	...	Not present
Protozoa	...	Not present
Cysts and ova	...	Not present
Undigested material	...	Few vegetable cells and muscle fibres present

Concentration method for cysts and ova:

Cysts and ova	...	Not present

Chemical examination:

Occult blood	...	Not present

[signature]

M.D.

Lucknow

28th July 1940

My dear Uncle,

I am writing this letter when Lucknow Hindus are preparing for a campaign against the resolution of the League concerning the formation of an Islamic State within India. I personally am of the opinion that these efforts on the part of our opponants will never prove successfull and on the other hand they will bias the Mus-lim views more in our favour. There is comming a day when no Muslim whether in the League or outside will have the courage to say a word against our proposed scheme. We have only to be careful in expressing our views about the proposed scheme. If these views will in any way be alien or contradictory to the contemplated system of government in Islam then there will be many to oppose them,—tooth and nail. But if we can manage to express our opinions in strict coordination with the Islamic conception of State then there will be an Ideal subtantial and dynamic enough to take the greatest ammount of sacrifice from us.

When I say Islamic State I do not mean a Moslem State. The Hindu and other sects are really affraid of the repetition of another Ghori, Ghaznavi, or a Moghal empire and they are perfectly justified in holding these suspicions against all Moslem domination. Their past experiences --- as well as our--- have shewn that a Moslem power may not neccessarily be an Islamic one. A glance at the Indian Muslim history will only shew that our great(?) Moslem Kings, Emperors, and potentates were not even acquainted with our doctrines of faith to which they were supposed to be so attached that they left their dear homes to propegate Islam in a country of infidels. Not at all. They never believed in the Faith. They only exploited it to their own purpose. They were no better than any Mongolian marauder who plundered for the sake of plundering. They hardly contributed to the propegation of the faith. The ~~few Moslems or rather~~ nine crores of ~~them~~ muslims that we see in India today owe their existance to the thousands of Faqirs and Saints that came here, faced death, treachery, and other dangers and preached Islam. They are no more but millions still pay their yearly homage to them. Their empire is in the hearts of millions. They worked noiselessly, and without

hubub. What I have said is just to illustrate the differance ammong the conquerors. One plundering and looting;the other giving protection. So we have to choose now and chalk out in skeleton the future programme that our State shall have. Whether it will be Qoranic or not ? It is a difficult question but it has to be solved. What I am affraid of Sir is the growing number of position seekers and job-hunters in the League. For example could one expect such outrages from the Bengal who had been all allong supposed to be the right hand of our movement. Our fears are from such people and their domination. And then such people are not limited to Bengal alone, they are everywhere. Everywhere at the top. With the ideal that we have before us such men will only be stumbling blocks in our way. It was time that a vigorous campaign was started under capable organizers to tour all district Leagues and find out the trend of the masses. I went to Muzaffarnagar where they have suspended (not actually) the district constitution and appointed a dictator whose word is Law. Could not the same be done in other districts ? and then at the centre. We have had enough of democratic yap-yaping. Only one man at the head can work, and does the work,the others usually just

~~talk~~ follow. ~~The people~~ Public ~~have~~ has never decided anything for ~~themselves~~ itself. ~~They~~ It have always followed. Strong men with definite ideals lead. It is in the interest of the people to accept individual genius. Is it not surprizing that even our thinking public is so apathetic and inbecile that when there is war, and every thing is topsy turvy, it invites and appoints Dictators and in time of peace it again turns to democracy. A man who can streer the ship in a storm can do it more so in calm waters.

To educate our public and give them the right interpretation of our resolution about the Muslim State it is essential that a propaganda committee be appointed or provisionally a weekly be published from Delhi. Whatever be the proceduere adopted something must be done to expound and explain the implications of the resolution.

The Khaksar tangle must be solved. Because you have taken it up. If the government of Punjab is adamant in its attitude and ~~th~~ no compromise can be reached, U.P. is prepared to march into the Punjab.

News has been received that the present Viceroy is going to be changed shortly. It is contained in a letter which

a certain ruling Prince wrote to another Prince in the Raj-putana agency. If the news is corr-ect then the British Govt. is about to make some definite change in its policy as regards India. I wonder who the next Viceroy will be.

Sikandar and his Unionist party are going to move 3 resolutions in the next meeting of the Council. They have already petitioned for it. The resolutions will be on the following lines: (1) That the Moslem League members be allowed to join the War Committees. (2) That a committee be appointed of 5 persons to negotiate with the Congress. (3) That coalition Ministries be formed.

This time we want to invite the Council in Allahabad. Allahabad is a very centrally situated city and if we hold our Council meeting there, Bihar, C.P., U.P., and Bengal can attend with full force. I have already wired to Nawabzada.

There is another very urgent matter that I wanted to bring to your notice. I do not know about other provinces but in U.P. the Congress is sending its trusted men into the League to work as its 5th columnists. The other 'friends' have already got their 5th columnists in Sir Sikandar and his group. How are we to combat these activities is the question

If

If we could only get in some of our own men inside our rival camps we could counter-attack all their machinations. But how to do it ? There is a false sence of security in many of us regarding the inclinations of Panjab masses. Some of us have begun to think that they are with us. This is a gross misinterpretation of their anti-Sikander manouvres. The masses in the Punjab are more with the Khaksars than us. Mamdot and others are birds of the same feather. Their flock is the flock of Sikandar. They fight each other, they curse each other but when it comes to arresting the progress of the League they are both one--inseparable. Punjab can only be organized by non-Punjabis. There is no doubt it will take a heavy toll.

Some of our leaders are waiting greedily for a compromise between the Govt.and the League. One of them has actually begun promising increments and appointments as soon as he gets into power. We don't know but he may have borrowed some money even,to be repaid from the adviser's salary!!!

In the last Working Committee meeting I had explained every thing about the Muslim National Gaurd to Choudhri Khaliquzzaman Sahab, but I am sorry to note that the organization

of the Gaurds has been entrusted to provincial and district Leagues. This means that everywhere ~~the~~ party politics will dominate the appointments of Gaurdsmen. What we had contemplated was to have this organization under strict military descipline. But now it will not be possible. Now for example take the case of uniforms. There is a certain contractor who is ready to supply 1 shirt-coat, 1 pair of trousers, and 1 forage military cap at the cost of Rs 2/15/- only. The other firm --Muslim Daisi Stores--- is ready to supply the same in hand-woven cloth which is not so strong at Rs 5/15/- per suit. Preferance is being given to the later one. Some members have got shares in it. I being also one of the share-holders. Had the Muslim League Working Committee accepted my scheme nothing of the sort would have happened. We would have called for tenders and the best would have been accepted. The organization of the Gaurds is progressing at a snail's pace. The Provincial Commander has to take a Committee's permission for even those things that should not be a concern of these chattering provincial politicians. To get first hand knowledge of the existing state affairs, yourself, a meeting of Provincial Salars will prove invaluable. If it is called with the Council meeting all the better.

More in my next instalment.

We all pray to God for true Guidance in these troublous times.

With respectfull regards, to you and phophi.

Yours

Amir.

MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN,
M.L.A.
B. A., LL. B. (Alig)
ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR.

Peshawar
Dt 2.8.40

Dear Sir

This is to make prayerful inquiries about your health.

Hindu Leaders are making generous gestures to the British Govt and I think these are well-timed. Hitler's bluff is to come shortly. Japan is sword rattling also. I make a tentative suggestion – will it

not be possible for the President of the All India Muslim India to make a generous gesture to the Govt. I leave it entirely to your kind descretion.

I have written a very frank letter to Dr P. Haq and I hope it will tell on him alright.

With affectionate regards & earnest prayers for your good spirits health

Yours obediently
& Lady Aurangzeb.

MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN,
M. L. A.
B. A., LL. B. (Alig)
ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR.

Peshawar
Dt. 6.8.40

Dear Sir,

You are like a father to us. We will suggest things which are good, bad or indifferent. Be gracious to use your own wise discretion.

In continuation of my suggestions in the last letter I omitted to mention the matter of Islamic States and their tense straits. Turkey, Iran & Afghanistan — according to Press reports are threatened — therefore it is high time that the Boss of Muslim India should kindly speak out by relaxing the War Committee ban. Reports from Punjab show that Sir Sikandar

is climbing down because he is in tight corner. It is further given out in Papers that Mamdot deputation is to interview you on 18th August. By all means remove the rigour of the ban of the War Committee but you should be graciously pleased to bind Sir Sikandar by getting Mamdot & party as his hostages & sureties for his future good behaviour.

The same Punjab is really feeling their loyalty to League strained by the ban of the War Committee. M.U.P. is, Inshaalla alright

With sincerest prayers for your health & bright spirits and with affectionate regards

Yours obediently

Mohd Aurangzeb.

P.S.

We all hope & pray that you will graciously pleased to finish the present deadlock with H.E. the Viceroy in your present interview which is to come off on 12th August. I wish you could kindly get Sir Lumley to endorse the Muslim point of view again. May God Almighty guide you aright for the service of your nation. /M.K.

MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN,
M.L.A.
B.A., LL.B. (Alig)
ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR.

Peshawar
Dt 7.8.40

Dear Sir,

May God Almighty grant you health bright spirits & guidance.

This interview is the last of its Kind. We should not miss the bus this time. Muslim League is primarily a political and no such body can exist for long when its political activity is in a state of political ~~[illegible]~~ suspended animation. War Effort is the burning topic and the Leaguers must not be expected for long doing nothing one way or the other. Our programme in the main is cooperation subject to clarification and God Almighty grant

your guidance to fix it up according to your versatile genius and brilliant lights. Congress has been successfully come down. Mahasabha is agreeable. The Volunteer Corps have been banned and Youthful India and political India cannot remain idle therefore Moslem India will lag behind if there is a ban on them. Already some communities are stealing a march over them. This is all by way of respectful suggestions Sincerely, dear Sir, I have the order and ... is service of obedience

Re Mamdot Delegation

Dear Sir, Kindly visualise the situation — Nawab Mamdot is our proud President in the Punjab. His entire

Existence depends on his jagir — he is as good
or as bad as any ruling chief is — he cannot
be differentiated from Nawab of Bhopal —
You can well appreciate how impatient
pushing & rushing was Nawab Bhopal — Of course
Md Aurangzeb or Dr Alam or Ghazanfar may be
a different but Punjab or Western Punjab is
in the main Chiefly class. Please find a way
out of this impasse for the Punjab. Our Boss
is most resourceful and I hope you will be
graciously pleased to come to their rescue. They
are almost collapsing — Poor toady Punjab!
It is pathetically amusing !
Punjab loses a great worker — Nawab Daultana
He was a capital fellow. May God bless his
soul.
With affectionate regards

Yours obediently —

Mohd Aurangzeb

L U C K N O W:

Dated 7th August 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was here for a few days and met some of us with the idea of canvassing support for requisitioning a meeting ~~for~~ of the Council of The All India Muslim League. He has left for Allahabad yesterday and is going to meet you on the 10th. During my conversation with him, I told him that it would be very harmful to the muslim cause to discuss serious matters of policy in a meeting of the Council, which has been requisitioned by canvassing support of a group whatever its strength. The decision taken in the meeting will be only decision of a majority whose action will be looked upon as a party action by the minority and may cause desruption in our ranks. I, therefore, sincerely advised him to wait for the meeting of the Working Committee, wherein all the questions, which agitated in the minds of those who were dissatisfied with the last Bombay Resolution, could be cooly discussed. He tried to convince me that the sole object of those who wanted a meeting of The All India Council was to express their dissatisfaction with the present policy of the League,

in regard to war efforts, particularly in the Majority Provinces, where the Miniters are allowed to remain in office and the other leaguers are asked to deprive them of their support. I told him that this question was raised and discussed in the Working Committee and the Resolution was passed without a division. Even Sir Sikander Hayat Khan ultimately agreed to it. No doubt, everyone was under the impression that the negotiations, which were going on between the League and the Viceroy, would materialise in a fortnight or so; but it appears that there is some hitch somewhere and much longer time has been taken in the negotiations. Thereafter, he showed me another resolution, which was proposed to be moved in the Council of the League, if a meeting was held on the requisition of their party. From the language of the resolution, it appears that it has been drafted by one who is more in the know of things than we poor mortals here at this end. It says that practically all the outstanding questions between the League and the British Government in regard to the method of cooperation have been settled, except the question of the perssonel of the League representatives. The resolution proposes to give full authority to His Excellency the Viceroy to appoint any one from

amongst the Muslim Leaguers. Obviously if such a demand has been made by His Excellency the Viceroy, it is most absurd and ridiculous. No one can give such powers on behalf of the League to the Viceroy or to the Provincial Governors. I am myself very doubtful whether really such a desire has been expressed to you by the Viceroy and if he has asked for such a general power, surely the Muslim League must reject it outright. It may, however, be possible to find a solution of the difficulty, if cooperation with the Government is considered to be in the interests of the muslims of India and the measure of representation has already been agreed upon between you and His Excellency the Viceroy.

The third resolution aiming at appointing a Sub-Committee of five persons to negotiate for a settlement of the communal problem with other parties if and when they are willing to do so was to say the least most surprising. So far as I know nobody is to-day talking of communal settlement but the resolution asks us to go out of our way to appoint a committee to discuss and negotiate with other parties, if they are willing to oblige us by talking to us. The idea underlined in the resolution is perhaps more to express resentment against you than to get a committee appointed.

I am informed that similar deputations have gone to Bengal and other Provinces. I do not know what will be their strength in the meeting of the Council but the very idea of holding a meeting of this character is obnoxious to me. In my opinion, this question should be discussed in the meeting of the Working Committee and if no solution can be found there, then those who still remain dissatisfied can requisition a meeting of the Council. I would request you to hold a meeting of the Working Committee as soon as convenient to take stock of the situation. I had written a letter to you on the 9th July, a copy of which I am herewith enclosing, but I did not receive even an acknowledgement. I am afraid it has perhaps not reached your hands, else I should have received a reply. In that letter also, I had requested for an early meeting of the Working Committee. There are some very important questions which we must consider before taking action in the Province against those who have directly or indirectly subscribed to the war funds. So far as U.P. is concerned, very few leaguers have joined war committees; but it is a fact that the number of those who have subscribed to the war funds either willing or unwillingly will be hundreds. If our last resolution meant to cover these persons also, we should take action against them whatever the consequence. The other day some members of the Cawnpore Muslim League, who

are also members of the Municipal Board, came to seek my guidance as regards the attitude that they should take up when, the next day, the question of Municipal Board making a contribution to the war fund came up for discussion. The Congress was prepared to oppose the resolution, if Muslim League joined them in that move. I advised them to keep neutral, though I do not know how far I was right in advising them on these lines. In the absence of clear instructions, such difficulties are being experienced every day.

Yours sincerely,

[signature]

L U C K N O W:
Dated 9th July 1940.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Congress Working Committee Resolution must have convinced some of our friends that it was not the League but the British Government which stood in the way of fuller cooperation between India and the Government. The demand for the complete independence makes it abundantly clear that it is not merely the difference between the muslims and the Hindus but the differences between the British Government and the Congress also, which make the coooperation of British Government and the Congress impossible on the one hand and the coalition of the Congress and the muslim on the other. The recent attitude of the Premiers of Punjab and Bengal, whatever may be reasons behind it, has considerably affected our solidarity but I am inclined to think that after the recent Resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress both of them must have realized that their efforts in bringing the three main parties together were destined to fail, for the Congress was not prepared to revise its demands even during the pendency of the war. We have now finally to decide upon a definite course of action for ourselves. The last Resolution of the League did not contain full and complete instructions with the result that several questions are being asked by the District Leagues and we do not know what answer is to be given to them. For instance, some people want to know whether

they should subscribe to the war fund or not. The position in the Provinces appears to be that local officials are making demands from the Zemindars to contribute to the war purposes fund. In some cases, the local officials have gone to the length of crediting a portion of money sent to them for payment of revenue towards war purposes fund. It seems natural that we should give instructions to the muslim leaguers to abstain from giving subscriptions directly or indirectly, but before doing it I think it would be better if you call a meeting of the Working Committee of The All India Muslim League to consider all these questions, for for I think if we take our Resolution to its logical limits, it is bound to bring us in open conflict with the Government. We have, therefore, to decide finally our attitude in regard to war.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Khaliq.

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
9th August, 1940.

Dear Khaliquzzaman,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th July as well as of the 7th August and thank you for all the information that you have placed at my disposal. I could not reply to your letter of the 9th July as I was not well, and besides, important events have been moving very fast and had occupied all my time.

You must have heard by now about the meeting of the Working Committee in Bombay on the 17th.

As regards the machinations of certain persons in Punjab I thank you for all the information. I shall place before you all things when you are in Bombay. The various points suggested by you will certainly have my very close attention and more when we meet in Bombay as I hope you will attend this very important meeting without fail.

Yours sincerely,

Sd: M.A.JINNAH

Ch. Khaliquzzaman

MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN,
M. L. A.
B. A., LL. B. (Alig)
ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR.

Pesh.
Dt 9. 8. 40

Dear Sir

H.E. The Viceroy's Declaration from Simla August 7th has been issued in the Newspapers of August 8th.

I beg to give synopses thereof, below.

(a) " India's anxiety at this moment in the War efforts and in the triumph of our common ideals is manifest."

(b) "His Majesty's Government makes dominion status the objective for India."

(c) Efforts made for unity — Resolutions passed by the Congress ,The Muslim League Mahasabba sent to the Home Government.

(d) Differences still persist but delay dangerous .His Majesty's Government have authorised me accordingly to invite certain

representative Indians to join my Executive-
-Council .They have authorised me ~~to~~ further
to establish a War Advisory Council ,which
would meet at reglar intervals etc:.

(e) Two main points clarified:-

(i) October declaration does not exclude
examination of any part either of the Act of
1935 or of the policy and plans on which it
is based. His Majesty's Government's concern
that full weight should be given to the
views of the minorities in any revision has
also been brought out..........It goes with-
-out saying that they could not contemplate
the transfer of their present responsibili-
-ties for the peace and welfare of India to
any system of Government whose authority is
directly denied by large and powerful elements
in India's national life. Nor could they be
parties to the coercion of such elements into
submission to such a Government."

(ii). The machinery for building within the

British Common wealth of nations,a new consti-
-tutional scheme when the time come...........
Strong desire that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indian themselves.......His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with this desire subject to the due fulfilment of the obligation which Great Britian's long connections with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility."

(f) This is no time when constitutional issues can be decisively resolved and it is further declared British Government will most readily assent to the setting up,after War, with least possible delay of a representative body.

(g) With the outlines given above they trust that all parties etc: will combine and cooperate in making a notable Indian contitu-
-tion to the victory of the World cause which

is at stake.

Tentative comment for favour of kind consideration.

To my mind the following emerge:-

(a) The new constitution would be revised denovo.

(b) The minorities cannot be allowed to be coerced into submission.

(c) No transfer of responsibility to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements.

(d) The proposed expansion of the Executie Council is not a replica of the condemned federation of 1935 Act.

(e) War Advisory Council is neither here nor there. It is more or less a committee in which the Princes and popular representatives will offer advice and as such it does not affect our demands one way or other.

The declaration shows no advance in

response to the various arbitrary demands of the Hindu Congress .The demands for unadulte--rated Independence ,the Constituent Assembly and the Hindu National Government at the centre have been summarily rejected rather convenently ignored.Our demands have been substantially conceded thanks to the Grace of Almighty Allah and your untiring and selfless advocacy and perseverance .This is a contro--versy of nerves and the British has reached his last limit almost to the breaking point. The War is also in a most critical and crusial stage .The Musalmans are a grateful people and not given to much unnecessary higling about details.We have to think of Egypt,Aden,Arabia and all Islamic States which are imminently threatened it is my respectful view that India in general and Muslim India inparticular have much to gain and nothing to lose by straight and whole--hearted cooperation with the Scheme. It is

a glorious opportunity under the circumstan--ces and we must not miss it.The British Government have proceeded on the only possible course which was open to them.This, to my mind, mirrors the sentiments of Muslim India ; subject to your kind approval.To my mind it is question of "Now or Never".After the War there will be tremendous changes and every thing is liable to be changed out of all recognition.

Dear Sir, be gracious to accept it unreser--vedly and meet the well-meaning straight Viceroy with your charactenstic Islamic grace and approval

These are my inner most feelings about the matter and I respectfully submit the above for favour of kind consideration.

The wanton threate of Abul Kalam Pandit Nehru and the veiled threats of Mr.Gandhi and others have been simply taken no notice of and our future War effort may

also further stengthen our just demands.

I have received instructions for Emergent meeting on 17th at Bombay which Inshaalla I will attend. rather we will attend

With regards,

Yours obediently

Mohd Aurangzeb Khan

MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN,
M.L.A.
B. A., LL. B. (Alig)
ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR.

Pesh[awa]r
Dt 9.8.40

Dear Sir,

My telling has terribly told on Mr Emotional F Haq — Now you can see real Mr F Haq in his true colours. He is a Leaguer through & through but is liable to be misled by scheming double dealers. I have sent him a cheery fulsome letter which will bring down his temperature.

I enclose his letter in original for favour of your kind perusal.

With affectionate regards

Yours obediently

Mohd Aurangzeb Khan

CHIEF MINISTER BENGAL

Calcutta,
The 6th August, 1940.

My dear Aurangzeb Khan,

I received your letter of the 1st August last night and I take the earliest opportunity of replying to you. You have all been labouring under a great misapprehension. You believe in whatever nonsense and trash appears in the Hindu newspapers and you take every thing that appears in print as the Gospel truth of the Christians, without trying to find out what ~~xxx~~ the real facts are. You claim to be a good friend but you never care to ask me whether these reports are correct or not. Without finding out the truth you have devoted 4 pages of foolscap to ventilate your anger for something which is absolutely groundless.

You people seem to have a very strange idea about the League and about me. You must remember that I am a much greater Leaguer than Mr. Jinnah himself and I have not only seen the birth of the League but had the privilege of nursing it through its infancy. We were in the League since 1906 when it was founded at Dacca by the late Sir Salimullah Bahadur, ~~and~~ while Mr. Jinnah joined the League only in 1914. Previous to that he was a violent Congresswala and utterly opposed to the League. For our part we have always been loyal to the League, and I believe I can honestly claim that I am the oldest Muslim Leaguer in India ~~present~~ living to-day.

It is rather an uncalled for piece of unsolicited lecture in which you have indulged when you have asked me to be loyal to the League. The League exists in the very marrow of my bones and does not require admonition from outside to induce me to be loyal to it. As regards my telegram, it was meant not as a threat but as a matter for discussion by the members of the Working Committee because I thought that this was a point of view which should also be considered. It is not I alone who constitutes the League; there are hundreds who have been placed in an awkward position by the Resulution you passed at Bombay, and I felt that if any extreme Resolution were passed by the Working Committee it would estrange the loyalty of many people and there may be some who would even think of leaving the League. However, things did not come to a breaking point and you have passed a Resolution which we have all accepted. The matter therefore ends there.

As regards all that you have written about my hob-nobbing with Abul Kalam, the Congress and every body else, it is all a creation of your imagination. Abul Kalam came to see me in Calcutta sometime in May and I talked with him on matters of general interest. I returned a formal visit and there he told me that he might be in a position to discuss political affairs with me in Delhi. There the matter ended. I never

had any interview with Abul Kalam anywhere nor did I meet him since he left Calcutta. It is absolutely false that I went to see him in Delhi and went to his parlour and that I met Gandhi or anybody else. Every thing that appeared in the newspapers is most michievously and maliciously false. I take serious objection to all your charges based on untruths. I hope you will kindly consider how much pained I have been to read the remarks of yours regarding the offence which I have never committed. As an old friend I want you to have confidence in me. You must know that my life is dedicated to the service of Islam and I have got no other object in view. If I have offended you please forgive me. I hope you will continue to be a good old friend as before.

Yours sincerely,

A. K. Fazlul Huq

Aurangzeb Khan, Esq., M.L.A.
Peshwar.

I have heard the deputation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League headed by Nawab Saheb of Mamdot and his colleagues Raja Gazanfar Ali and Mr. Mohammed Ali Jafri. All that they had to urge has been very carefully considered by me. I have come to the conclusion that there is no ground for making any exception in the case of Punjab, with regard to the ban imposed upon the Muslim Leaguers not to associate themselves with the War Committees pending the result of the negotiations between the Viceroy and me. According to the resolution of the Working Committee I can only issue fresh instructions after the result of the negotiations, and the negotiations are still pending.

I therefore request the Nawab Saheb of Mamdot as the leader of the Deputation and as the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to abide by the resolution of the Working Committee of the 17th June at Bombay, and resign from the War Committees forthwith and convey to the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League my reply and to request every Muslim Leaguer likewise to resign fothwith pending the negotiations.

Their compliance with my request immediately will add to the prestige of the All-India Muslim League and show solidarity and discipline amongst the Mussalmans all over India and is bound to advance the cause for which [redacted] are fighting and the grave issues involved.

Report No.1.

Butler Palace,

Lucknow. 9th Sept 1940

My dear Uncle

I reached here the evening before last. Yesterday in the morning was the meeting of the Muslim Girl's inter.College of which I am the President, and from 2 O'clock the Council meeting of the Student's Federation. I am herewith sending a copy of resolutions that were passed in the Council.

I had prolonged talks with the Muslim Students of Bengal. They are fed up of the Ministry, since the Islamia College incident when the police and the Gurkhas charged the Students with batons and tried to disperse them. Waseque and Nurul Huda were badly injured. Enclosed with this letter is the address delivered by the president of the Bengal Muslim Students. From the conversation that I had with them it is evident that they have faith in Hasan (most of all) and his group. They are not satisfied with any minister. They can be most useful if only they are used by the genuine Muslim Leaguers.

We have proposed to hold the meeting of the Council in Aligarh at a time when there will be no one there. The Varsity will close on the 23ed Sept. and open on the 3ed of Oct. i.e.the 1st of Ramazan. I am also informing the Nawabzada about this.

Since the arrest of Prof.Abdussatar Khairi the Govt. authorities have been rather suspicious about aligarh 5th columnists (!!!!). To To allay the Govt.fears the Governor was asked to pay a visit to the

university and during his stay there the members of the Aligarh Union prsented him with a purse of Rs200/-/- for the Red Cross. But in the papers it was given out that (by the Governor himself) it was a donation to the war puposes fund. In yesterday's meeting some boys brought a censure motion on the ministry of the Union. The Secretary of the Union is a member of our working committee. He naturally objected as it was a censure on him as well. The discussions brcame so tense that it would have come to blows had I not clsed the debate, and asked the Council to give me powers to investigate in the affair. My reasons for talking up this attitude was that this year the Congress has sent some of its most competent workers as students to aligarh and in case of a split the boys will be thoroughly exploited by this group. The staff is also in favour of the congress. There are confirmed atheists and so-called socialists in the staff. With a weak Vice-chanceller and such a politically corrupt staff it will be impolitic to take too bold a stand. Therefore now I will bring the boys (both from the Union and others) in a deputation to you when you are Delhi and then whatever line of action you order us to take we will be ready to follow.

As to the effect that our resolutions have created on the youth, it will be enough to mention that they are not dissatisfied. Of course youth is rash and foolhardy, and we cannot expect any applause, but some of them or rather most of them think that ther is a deeper move behind these watery resolutions. They think that the League is waiting for the right time to strike and it is for this very purpose that such a 'rebel' deputation is being sent to the provinces.

I would like to know whether the chargesheet against the Tigers is

to be brought in the comming council meeting or the working committee meeting or at a later date. And whether before capturing the machinery in the 2 provinces it will serve any purpose turning them out.

This is all that I have to write at present. More after the 15th when the Up.working committee is meeting.

Just one more incident. Panna Lal is one of the advisers his son-in-law was the land assessment officer in Fyzabad Dt. U.P. and to remain a true congress-minded and progressive nationalist he g has gone beyond all rules of the govt. in raising the land revenew of those who are in any way attached to the Muslim League. Pirpur ofcourse has to suffer the most, but when I asked whether it was correct he said in the affirmative and said that he had filed an appeal in the court against the assessment officer. Let us see what the court decides. It is a very important matter as the officer concerned has gone out of x his way to harm the Muslims in the district.

Yours
Amin.

Enclosed. (1) Presidential Address --BENGAL MSL
(2) Copy of resolutions passed by the All-India M.S.Fed.

Typed Copy ...

Butler Palace

Lucknow

September 12th.1940

My dear Uncle

The Provincial Secretary of the League came to see me today, and asked me whether it could be possible to bring about rapproachement between the Congress and the League. I told him that our position was quite clear and if the congress wants to come to terms with us, then now, the basis will be the Lahore resolution, and that any move in this direction should be made only towardsk the president and no one else. He said that he will carry the message. The message has come from the Panth Group through one of his parliamentary secretaries, Acharya Jugal Kishore. It seems that there i is a strong yearning towards some sort of adjustment There is no doubt that they feel shy in coming to you at this moment, and also they want to know whether you will agree to start with only a private unterview

between yourself and the Rightist group.I have in reply to the message assured them that our president meets, interviews and sees any one who wants to consult him on any subject,but one thing should be kept in mind that if the Congress thinks or expects from the League that we will change our position as regards the Lahore resolution it will be gross miscalculation.The League is prepared to come to terms only with that body which will accept the fundamentals of the Lahore resolutions.The word has been conveyed,any more further developments will be communicated.

The Ex-General Secretary of the Students Federation (not muslim) came to see me this morning,his whole attitude during the conversation may be summed up as synpathetic,despising,threatning,and apologising all at the same time.His news are that about 500 congress men are going to be arrested within a week,though the Congress is not very keen to start a direct action campaign it will be coar-ced in this position.

The first action to hand over the charge to Gandhi-ji,and Gandhiji will start for the Frontier to inaugurate the campaign with a batch of "Khudai Khidmatgars" to show that the Musalmans are with him.This member of the

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Student's Federation also verifies the move that the Congress is going to make one more attempt to get the Muslim League.

The Congress has started its Muslim Mass contact movement from Lucknow, from the 9th September, when in a mass meeting Hafiz Mohammad Ebrahim and other, so called Nationalist Muslims questioned the authority of the League when such capable?, sincere ?, intelligentia? kept out of it. Masses like and appreciate quick decission and quick results. They have got conveniently a short memory.

We are going to meet on the 28th. If nothing concrete is put forward by the Viceroy, and if he contimued haggling and bargaining then Sir we will be throwning the masses into the hand of the disorder and disruption.

With profound respects and love

Yours

Anis

Herewith enclosed a press cutting for your perusal. This is infamous. It is some 5th Columnist on work.

Kalat,
the 17th September 1940.

My dear Friend,

How anxiously I looked to your proposed visit to Baluchistan but, alas, my wishes could not be realised owing to your bad health.

Today, the hopes of eighty millions Musalmans of India are centred in you and it is the desire of everyone of us that God, the Almighty, may bestow you with sound health and a long successful life devoted to the cause of Islam.

If, out of your most heavy programme, you could spare some days and spent them

with us in Kalat I am sure it would have added much to your health.

I am looking very anxiously when we could meet either in Baluchistan or at Delhi.

Qazi Mohammad Isa will convey you some specimen of the Manual Work done in my State which, I trust , you would like.

with best wishes and sincere regards,

Yours Very Sincerely

[signature]

His Highness, Beglar Begi,
the Khan of Kalat.

Qaid-i-Azam,
M.A. Jinnah,
President All India Muslim League,

SHRI HAZUR NAWANAGAR STATE

Personal & Confidential.

THE PALACE,
JAMNAGAR.
KATHIAWAR.

17th September, 1940.

My Dear Friend,

I am sorry I have not answered your letter earlier. Since then I have received a letter from our friend Sir A.M.K.Dehlavi also in the same connection. Since I wrote you in May last I have not yet had a suitable opportunity of moving in this matter. As you know I took ill in June and we had no meetings of Kathiawar Princes for two months. You will appreciate that in a matter like this personal discussions are most important. I shall take the earliest opportunity of making a definite move and shall let you know the result of my efforts.

What do you think of the latest development ?
Hope you are keeping fit. With kind regards and all good wishes,

Yrs very sincerely
Digvijaysinhji

M.A.Jinnah Esq.,Bar-at-Law.

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COPY.

Personal & Confidential.

The Palace,
Jamnagar,
Kathiawar,
17th September 1940.

My dear Sir Dehlavi,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th September. The matter referred to by you has not escaped my mind; but I have not yet had a favourable opportunity of giving concrete shape to it since I wrote to Mr. Jinnah in May last. You are perhaps aware that I was taken ill in June and no meeting of the Kathiawar Princes took place in July. I have not been able to meet my brother Princes in Kathiawar either individually or collectively for some time now. And You will appreciate that a matter like this can best and only be settled by personal discussions. It will require a lot of persuasion to induce them to part with large sums of money, (particularly at a time like this when the demands on them are far too many and pressing) on the only assurance we can

give them, in Mr.Jinnah's own words "if the worst comes to the worst you will only lose your money." You can rest assured that I shall however do my very best; and shall not fail to take the earliest opportunity of making a definite move in this matter.

I hope you are keeping well. With kind regards and all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) Digvijaysinhji.

Sir A.M.K.Dehlavi,
Sardar House,
Surat.

A paragraph from the letter of the Maharaja of Porbandar relating to the League Press Fund.

With regard to the other matter you have mentioned in your letter, I am afraid I am not in a position to say anything until I have seen the Jansaheb, which I hope will be fairly shortly. The Yuvaraj Saheb may not be able to assist much in that regard either at present as he is not too well I am sorry to say.

(Sd.) Natwarsinhji.

Copy of the letter dated 17th October 1940
from the Governor U.P. to Mr. M.A.Jinnah.
****

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is in reply to your letter of October 12th and to say that I will look into Mr. Abdus Sattar Khairi's case again. I return the enclosure to your letter after keeping a copy of it.

Yours sincerely,

Sd: M. HALLET

Readymoney House
Matheran
22nd October 1940

My dear Liaqat,

Your letter of the 19th October.

About Sattar Khairi I have already written to the Governor of U.P. and I have received a reply the copy of which is enclosed.

As regards the Red Crescent Mission I thank you for your suggestion and we will consider when we are in Delhi. I am glad you have already sent the resolution of the Council to various Provincial Muslim Leagues to give training to the persons who would be willing to go abroad, in Medical Missions.

Yes, I am in Matheran and hope to roll down to Bombay by the end of this month. I hope to be in Delhi by the 5th of November.

I have received the telegram from Sattar Seth and have officially heard from the Secretaries. I would like to know your suggestion for the fixing of the dates during the Easter Holidays in the event of my accepting the invitation from Madras. Most probably I shall decide that we should go to Madras.

Of course I had written to them explaining the whole matter and that had some effect in their arriving at their unanimous decision.

With kind regards to you both from us and love to Ashraf.

Yours sincerely

Sd: M.A.JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay
1st November 1940

Dear Aurangzeb Khan,

My attention has been drawn to your statement as reported today in the Bombay paper "The Morning Standard", copy of which I am enclosing herewith.

Of course you know I am very careful and not to be guided entirely by the Press reports but this is the second time and I hope that you will not mind my drawing your attention to the implications of this statement of yours if it is correctly reported.

We have to be very careful and not to be exploited by others who are ready to take advantage of us and you are fully aware of the definite policy of the Muslim League.

Please therefore be very careful and let us not be misunderstood by the public.

Hope you are well. With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Sd: M.A.JINNAH

Sardar Mohd. Aurangzeb Khan,
Peshawar.

17th November 1940

My dear Chacha

It is after a very long silence that I have got something to write about. The political atmosphere has been most depressingly dull and drony. The month of Ramazan finished on the 1st of November. Since then I had been busy preparing my address for the Shahsaram conferance which was held on the 9th and 10th. The conferance was a great success. People from various parts of the province had come to attend, some of them I was told had walked from distant villages because they had no money. Raja Sahab of Pirpur also attended and inaugurated the conf. Jamal Mian made one of his most brilliant speaches. But throughout the conferance I realised that there was a lack of that life that vivacity that spirit which during the congress rule usually guided our ~~utterances~~ deliberations. Accepted that our ideal is the creation of Muslim

soveraign states in the N.W. and in the East but today when we should be organizing our masses to that end we feel that the method of the struggle is still in the shade. Right or wrong today if the congress says that A free and Independant India is its goal, it also has the method of the (socalled) non-violent satyagrah. The public with its distorted sense of values and a conveniently short memory is easily led away by their intensive and extensive propaganda machine which works day and night untiringly weaving lies after lies and falsehood after falsehood. With this in view and also our condition how are we to compete without men without money without newspapers. This is the question Sir. Untill the Congress is out we have got a breathing time. In the meanwhile if we are unable to do constructive and concentrative work we may find ourselves betrayed and our existance may only dwindle in to a liability on the nation. It was during the lull period between the two mass upheavals of 24 and 30 that the congress consolidated its position. It was then that the workers and the peasants realised that it (Congress) could become very usefull to

them only if it came to power. But the greatest blunder that its political leaders did was to accept office when all the creative and destructive powers were vested in the Governors. They had come to wreck the constitution but the constitution wrecked them. Now, lately Roy and Kr.Anand Singh have been meeting the members of the Council. My personal information is that Roy has been bought over by the Govt. and the Govt. is trying its level best to form a ministry. To-day a meeting of the Muslim League party in the Assembly and the Council was held to discuss the formation of a ministry and through out the deliberations the strain shewed a greed an inextinguishable desire, an insatiable appetite for power. All offices have been practically filled (in immagination of course) every parliamentary secretary has been nominated, and every detail has been considered. The Raja Sahab of Pirpur was offered a seat in the cabinet as a representative of the Shias which he ofcourse rejected ~~the offer~~ and I know that he for one will never be so low. Noticing the trend of thought in our political liege-lords I must convey my frank opinion on the

situation. I am convinced Sir that we should not accept office for the following reasons :

1. A minority cannot live but in opposition.

2. The Muslim League has not yet got that hold on the masses which the congress had when it assumed power.

3. We have no labour organizations within the League.

4. Our contact with the peasantry is nil.

5. The prerogatives of the miniserts of today (war period) will be much less in comparison to those which the congress had.

6. Over and above those restrictions which the Governor may place the League representatives will be in double slavery, one of the govt., the other of the majority party which will form the govt.

7. The League has no outstanding economic programme.

8. There will be a split in the League.

9. By the time they (members of the League) come out of the offices they will have thoroughly dicredited themselves.

** **** ***********

<u>The Pakistan Deputation</u> could not start its tour as I

four out of seven members were unable to come . Sir Currimbhoy is busy making arranfements for his daughters marriage. Siddique Ali Khan is in jail. Ispahani is tied up with his business in Calcutta. Nawab S.M.Ismail has previous engaements for this month. Now we are going to Assam and Bengal if possible in the first 2 weeks of December.

More than 2/3 ed of translation of your book on Pakistan is ready the rest will soon follow. Its in the press. I will be in Mahmudabad from the 20th to the 27th.

With respectful compliments.

Yours

Amir.

Copy of the letter dated 18th November, 1940
from the Governor U.P. to Mr. M.A.Jinnah.
****

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am now in a position to reply to your letter of the 12th October on the subject of the detention of Mr. Abdus Sattar Khairi to which an interim reply was sent to

sent on the 17th October. The resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, to which you refer, asked for the release of Mr. Khairi. I have given the matter my most careful consideration, but I am afraid that I am unable to agree, at any rate at present. There is a mass of information concerning the activities of the Khairis some of which has not yet been fully examined. It may be that when this has been done,Mr. Khairi will be able to explain certain facts which go to show that he was an enemy agent, but, subject to what he may be able to say, the information available appears to leave no room for doubt that he was in touch with German propaganda agents before the war and had contacts also with anti-British agents of other powers. These facts are only gradually coming to light and could not have been known to your Council. There is no objection to your communicating them confidentially to the members of your Council should the matter again be raised there. Mr. Khairi was not of course detained, as he suggests in his letter, because of his connexion with "The spirit of the time" nor of any Communistic or Congress propaganda against him, of which indeed I am quite unaware.

2. I of course appreciate and sympathise with the distress of the Khairi family in their present unfortunate position and am doin; all I can to alleviate it,

consistently with what appears to be necessary in the interests of the public safety. Sometime ago I ordered that Mr. Khairi be moved to Dehra Dun jail, where he now is, and where the climate is better than at Jhansi. I am afraid that I cannot agree to the release of Mr. Khairi but I satisfied myself by a personal visit that those detained in the Parole Camp in Naini Tal, where Mrs. Khairi is, are well looked after and have no ground for complaint. Mrs. Khairi has her younger daughter with her and I have just issued orders that her elder daughter be sent there too, as Mrs. Khairi wishes. Neither of these girls will of course be treated as a detenue though Government will pay for their board and lodging. The University authorities are willing to take the son into a boarding house and I am instructing the Collector of Aligarh, Mr. Naqvi, to arrange for the letting of the Khairi's house, the rent of which should be sufficient to pay for the son's university expenses.

Yours sincerely,

Sd: M. HALLET

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.
24th November 1940

My dear Liaqat

I am sending you a copy of the letter which was posted to you from Matheran on or about the 22nd of October 1940 enclosing a copy of the letter from the Governor of U.P. regarding Mr. Sattar Kheiri's case and I was rather surprised from our conversation that you had not received it.

I now received in continuation a second letter from His Excellency the Governor of U.P. dated the 18th November, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith.

Yours sincerely,

SD: M.A.JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan,

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A

B

"Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others like your forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of the "Mujahids". You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character, and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory".

---QUAID-E-AZAM
October 30,1947.